

SOCIAL FORCES

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DEFINITION OF DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

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APPPLIED sociology consists today more largely in the application of serviceable concepts and in tested techniques of social research, than in the application of laws or principles, which are few in verified number and usually too general in statement to solve some concrete problem.

Consequently it is to the serviceable sociological concept that we turn for some of the examples of fruitful applications of sociology. Social work and psychiatry are making increasing use of sociological concepts. This development is too apparent to be elaborated or even illustrated at this point. Disagreement among definitions of the same concept are frequent as Eubank¹ has shown, but, if the resulting arguments and discussions are not too protracted, they are probably indications of a healthy condition of normal growth of scientific vocabulary.

We come, therefore, to the question: What is a definition? It becomes necessary to try to define what we mean by the term definition as used in the description and differentiation of sociological concepts. In this brief paper we shall set down some criteria and distinctions that we have found helpful in our own thought, research, and writing.

If we begin with dictionary definitions, we find in *Oxford* that a definition is, "stating the precise nature of a thing or the meaning of a word." *Standard* states that a definition is, "the act or product of marking out, or delimiting, the outlines or characteristics of any conception or thing; determining the elements, attributes, or relations of one object so as to distinguish it, whether as an individual or one of a class, from other objects."

Concepts are general ideas and involve abstract thinking. Young² states the matter thus: "Abstract thinking constitutes the highest form of anticipatory response," and again, "Reasoning is a form of anticipatory response in which the behavior is foreseen in terms of images, ideas or concepts before it actually passes over into consummatory or overt conduct." Sapir³ says, "... the speech element 'house' is a symbol, first and foremost, not of a single perception, or even of the notion of a particular object, but of a 'concept,' in other words, of a convenient capsule of thought that embraces thousands of distinct experiences and that is ready to take on thousands more." In Warren's *Dictionary of Psychology*, we find a concept defined as, "A

¹ E. E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, 1932.

² K. Young, *Social Psychology*, 1930, pp. 114-115.

³ E. Sapir, *Language*, 1921, pp. 106-107.

mental state or process which refers (1) to more than one object or experience; (2) to one object in relation to others; when it represents a common aspect or attribute of the class it is an abstract idea." Recent experimental work in psychology has reported operational definitions of the term concept,⁴ and finds that children showed in comparison with adults a smaller percentage of most common and generalized concepts; a larger percentage of personal, general and loose, and incorrect concepts; and a greater percentage of childish terms and phrases.

Concepts may go through such stages of development as: first, being implicit as thought; second, becoming explicit in the wide use of a term; and third, attaining precise definition of this term, either verbally (in words), or heuristically (in diagrams or graphs), or operationally (in measurement and experiments). Since we are not here concerned with the developmental problem, it is the third stage that we shall consider.

Before we pass to a description of (1) verbal, (2) heuristic, and (3) operational definitions of sociological concepts, let us first consider some useful distinctions that aid in grouping the already large number of sociological concepts. To begin with, it helps to clarify our thought on this matter to make a rough dichotomy into (a) substantive or phenomenal concepts, which are descriptive of content, subject-matter and experience, and (b) methodological or procedural concepts, which are descriptive of the process of observation, analysis and study. The latter may be further grouped into general concepts drawn from the literature of logic and

science, and more specific terms drawn from empirical sociology. The list of terms under the rubrics of this classification are not, of course, intended to be complete, but designed merely as examples.

Let us now take a term or concept frequently used in sociological research and often applied in social work and psychiatry and compare the verbal definition of this term with the operational definition of the same term. Take the term "morale," what does it mean? What is the concept of morale? Rundquist and Sletto⁵ define it thus: "... the degree to which the individual feels competent to cope with the future and achieve his desired goals . . . feelings of insecurity and discouragement." No doubt there are those who would disagree with this statement and suggest another statement as a better definition. Argument and discussion would elaborate variations in terms of different sentences using different words. The definition just cited is a verbal definition. In its present form it consists of words about words. Since different individuals differ in the associations they have made with the same word, any conclusion of the controversy by adding more words is not likely to come from further discussion. What then needs to be done? Clearly we need to get the definition into some form that is susceptible of check, test or verification, in other words, we desire a more objective definition. This is exactly what Rundquist and Sletto did in their book, *Personality and the Depression*,⁶ for here we find morale defined in terms of differences in score on a standardized attitude scale for

⁴ B. Johnson, "Development of Thought," pp. 1-7; F. T. Wilson, "Concepts of Children and College Students," pp. 63-67; *Child Development*, vol. 9, no. 1, March 1938; S. M. Mott, in vol. 10, no. 1, March 1939.

⁵ E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, "Scoring Instructions for the Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions," University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

⁶ Published by the University of Minnesota Press, 1936.

employed and unemployed, men and women, students in day classes and in evening classes, etc., all giving the precise number of individuals concerned, tested under certain conditions, and in the year 1934. This is an operational definition of "morale." Its obvious superiority over a purely verbal definition is in its verifiability.

tions are now and will remain useful and necessary first steps; but they are only first steps. Advance in research that is sound should seek to replace verbal or word definitions of social concepts with operational definitions as rapidly as research permits. Of what practical use is a verbal definition of the physical concept "electricity"? Compared with this the am-

SAMPLINGS OF SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

A. SUBSTANTIVE OR PHENOMENAL, DESCRIPTIVE OF CONTENT, SUBJECT-MATTER AND EXPERIENCE

accommodation	culture complex	mobility
assimilation	culture trait	morale
attitude	custom	mores
attraction pattern	diffusion	participation
belief	emotion	pressure group
competition	feeling	propaganda
conflict	folkway	public opinion
contact	friendship constellation	race prejudice
convention	group	sentiment
class structure	institution	social status
culture area	invention	tradition
cultural change		

B. METHODOLOGICAL OR PROCEDURAL, DESCRIPTIVE OF THE PROCESS OF OBSERVATION, ANALYSIS AND STUDY

<i>General</i>		<i>Specific</i>
causation	case method	personal history document
deduction	control group	schedule
induction	constants	score card
logic	field theory	social survey
proof	hypothesis	sociometric scale
true*	index of interaction	reliability
verification	intuition	validity

* It should be noted that the adjective "true" is converted into the noun "truth," thereby getting the social scientist into fruitless arguments of a metaphysical nature. The term "true" is meaningful.

What is not so obvious is that an operational definition is extremely costly. To reach the operational definition of morale, Rundquist and Sletto spent thousands of dollars in several years of intensive and patient research. On the other hand, the verbal definition is inexpensive because words are cheap. This is not to depreciate verbal definitions to the degree to suggest that they be wholly eliminated from sociological science. Verbal defini-

meter reading and the voltmeter reading are definitions that are operational and practical as well as verifiable.

Operational definitions are not, of course, final or absolute. They are subject to correction and improvement with further research. Since Stevens,⁷ for the

⁷ S. S. Stevens, "The Operational Basis of Psychology," *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. 47, April 1935, pp. 323-330, and "The Operational Definition of Psychological Concepts," *Psychological Review*, vol. 42, no. 6, Nov. 1935, pp. 517-527.

field of psychology, and Lundberg,⁸ for the field of sociology, have recently discussed operationalism in its implications for the sciences of human behavior, we shall dispense with further consideration of this subject except to analyze one very important problem of measurement in relation to the operational definition. The problem is this: since the operational definition of a social concept depends upon the series of acts performed by the investigator in the process of measurement, how can one be sure whether the scale of measurement used really does measure the subject or the objects to which it is applied? This is the problem of validity of the scale of measurement. But the operational definition that science holds up as a desired goal of objectivity states that the measurement *is* the concept.

Let us consider an illustration of this point. In the trend toward quantitative description or measurement in social psychology and sociology, we strive to define each concept in terms of the measurements upon it. Scales to measure public opinion are constructed and tested for validity. We say of a scale that has been standardized to measure public opinion, "Public opinion *is* what this scale measures." This is then the operational definition of the concept public opinion. Does this statement of operationalism make meaningless or false the basic question of validity, which is, "Does this scale measure that which it is designed to measure, namely, public opinion?" This apparent dilemma appears at first glance to be destructive of the very basis of operationalism, because the proposition appears to beg the question by assuming the conclusion which is to be proved and making it part of the premises used to

prove it. In reality, however, the dilemma is not a real one, because the assertion, "Public opinion *is* what this scale measures" is made only *after* the scale has been standardized. The process of standardization, if done thoroughly, disposes of the question of validity, so that the assertion of the operational form of the definition of public opinion does not beg the question.

Perhaps another illustration will clarify these points. In the process of developing the social status scale we first formulated (in 1926) a verbal definition of the concept social status as follows: "Socio-economic status is the position that an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions, and participation in the group activities of the community."⁹

In the course of the next seven years, social status ratings obtained by checking a weighted list of articles in the living room of the family were secured on some 1500 homes in different parts of the United States. By 1933 the reliability of the scale was standardized by correlations of from $+ .90$ to $+ .98$ between scores on a first visit and scores on a second visit on the same homes, made by the same or by different visitors.¹⁰ Meanwhile the validity of the scale was established by correlations of $+ .383$ with income, and $+ .515$ with occupational class on the standard norm group of 442 homes. Smaller and more homogeneous groups of homes selected from the 442, yielded higher coefficients such as, with income $+ .65$, with occupation $+ .58$, with social participation $+ .62$, and with education $+ .54$. Since the concept of the social status of

⁸ G. A. Lundberg, "The Thoughtways of Contemporary Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 1, no. 5, Oct. 1936, pp. 703-723.

⁹ F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, 1935, p. 374.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-390.

any person or family represents a complicated group of factors in the community more likely to be grasped by adults than by children, it is evident that the definition of social status in terms of occupation, income, social participation and education, is superior to the use of only one term. The fact that the correlations of each of these four aspects of social status with the social status score is substantial (i.e. neither too small, which would suggest absence of relationship, nor too large, which would suggest spurious elements), we conclude that the social status score is a valid measure of the concept social status. When it is further shown that groups of families of different social classes such as relief or nonrelief, WPA and employed, unskilled working class families and professional men's families, have social status scores substantially different in magnitude on the average, the validity of this particular measure of social status seems well established for the time being at least.¹¹

Data gathered in 1935 brought to a head another question related to the standardization of the social status scale. It was this: Should a correction in the final social status score be made for a family that *uses* its living room, *also* as a dining room, or bedroom, or kitchen? To secure an objective answer to this question, we set an arbitrary penalty for *each use* of the living room beyond its chief purpose as the main gathering place of the family, which would reduce the final score of the home by 6 points when the living room was used also as a dining room, by 9 points when used also as a kitchen, etc.¹² Next, the validity of this arbitrary system of penalty weights was tested by re-scoring

and re-correlations of the original 442 standard norm homes, to see if the change in weights would affect the correlations. We found that the corrected scores showed an increase from $+ .383$ to $+ .454$ with income, and from $+ .515$ to $+ .625$ with occupational class. The multiple correlation coefficient, $R_{1.23}$ was similarly raised from $.54$ to $.66$. Higher coefficients were also obtained for the smaller and more homogeneous subgroups and a multiple correlation of $R_{1.2345} = .812$ was obtained for social status score and the combined scores on income, occupation, social participation and education. This example of social status thus supplies concrete illustrations of the stages and problems the research worker encounters in an effort to reach an operational definition of a particular social concept. It also illustrates the justification for the statement that the process of standardization of a scale of measurement disposes of the question of validity *before* the scale measurements are used as an operational definition, thereby avoiding the dilemma that has seemed to confuse the meaning of operational definitions.

Let us now turn from examples of the operational definition of comparatively simple sociological concepts such as attitudes, morale, social status, etc., to the much more complex social concept "social institution." Can an operational definition of such a complicated concept be worked out? Will it always be necessary to use purely verbal definitions for entities in this area of sociological concepts? Cooley, Sumner and Allport, have all contributed useful verbal definitions. From these we constructed a verbal definition of a social institution to include the hypothesis of four type parts, common reciprocating attitudes, cultural objects of symbolic value, cultural objects possessing utilitarian value, and oral or written

¹¹ *Ibid.*, and in other research results, both published and unpublished.

¹² See revised edition of 1936 "The Social Status Scale," paragraph #2, University of Minnesota Press.

language symbols, all of which combine into a configuration possessing the properties of relative rigidity and relative persistence of form, and tending to function as a unit on a field of contemporary culture.¹³ The hypothesis of four type parts was set up so that there might be portions of the configuration, each susceptible of description in some objective way. Since the various studies of this subject have been published, further elaboration of the reasons for this hypothesis and illustrating its use, will be found therein.¹⁴ There remains, however, the problem of how to formulate a definition of social institution, which will express its configurational character in some unity of form. Here we find useful, as a transitional device, the heuristic definition. This type of definition uses diagrams, figures and graphic forms, to represent the concept as an entity. One of the merits of this form of definition is its visual appeal. It has been criticized, however, as running the risk of making the symbolic representation more complicated than the phenomena for which it stands.¹⁵ Physical sciences have often used this heuristic form of definition to great advantage, as witness the system of graphic structural formulae of molecular and atomic structure used in physics and particularly in chemistry.¹⁶ Its chief danger for use in sociology lies in the fact that such formulations once presented seem to the uncritical observer to attain

an objectivity of genuine scientific validity, when their real purpose is to serve as devices of discovery for temporary and transitional use as so many bridges over the gap between verbal definitions and more useful operational definitions. Hence it is desirable wherever these visual devices are used to frankly state them as heuristic devices and not as more finished objective definitions.¹⁷

Figure 1 illustrates the use of the heuristic definition to represent the entity, "Baptist Church," as a social institution consisting of four type parts, religious attitudes as the central circle, from which there are bonds to the symbolic type part (cross, hymnal), to the utilitarian culture traits (church building), and the type part of descriptive language symbols (creed, doctrine, church rules). The field of culture against which this configuration appears is illustrated by the behavior segments of different individuals, A and B, who are also affiliated with other institutional complexes, such as a bank, a lodge, politics, a club and a business enterprise. The church attitudes of these individuals are represented by the symbols a_1 and b_1 , and their other institutional attitudes and habits similarly. Whether these graphic devices are more or less complicated than the social phenomena they are used to represent, is for the reader and user to judge. They have been helpful in the clarification of my own thought, and students seem also to have found them useful. However, at this stage they are frankly heuristic and by no means scientific definitions.

The test of the degree to which such heuristic definitions of the concept "social institution" may serve as a bridge to pass over the gap from purely verbal definition to operational definition is shown in

¹³ F. Stuart Chapin, *Cultural Change*, 1928, pp. 44-52.

¹⁴ *Contemporary American Institutions*, 1935, *op. cit.*, and p. 359.

¹⁵ In reviews of my *Cultural Change*, W. F. Ogburn in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 35, no. 3, November 1929, and A. A. Goldenweiser in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 44, seem to present this criticism of my work.

¹⁶ I. W. D. Hackh, "Development of Chemical Symbols" *Scientific Monthly*, March, 1935, pp. 199-217.

¹⁷ See my review of Phelps' *The Laws and Principles of Sociology*, in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 2, no. 6, Dec. 1937, pp. 929-931.

figure 2. Here we have "lifted" the an entity of a visual kind; here also we configuration of the four type-parts of the have substituted for the symbolic lines

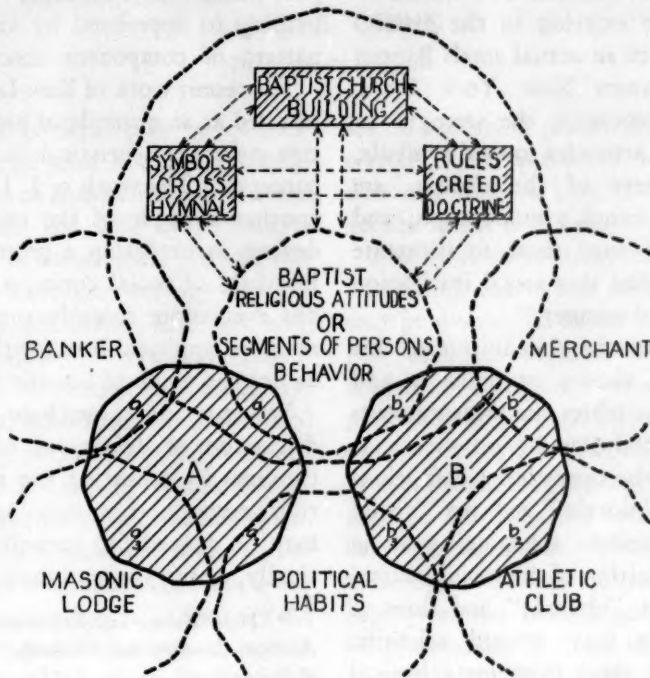


FIGURE 1

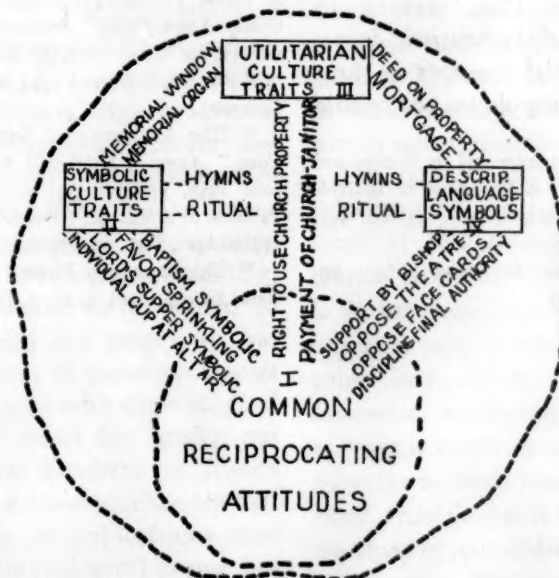


FIGURE 2

concept of "church" from its contemporary field of culture and presented it as that represented the assumed bonds between the hypotheticated type parts,

language symbols descriptive of the specific attitudes or other culture traits found by the empirical research of Richard L. Schanck¹⁸ to be existing in the institutional complex of an actual small Baptist church in western New York State. Measured differences in the strength or conservatism of attitudes toward symbols, creed or property of the church, are presented in Schanck's monograph, and we have merely used them to illustrate our effort to define this social institution in an operational manner.¹⁹

While the operational definition of this Baptist church shown in figure 2 and elaborated in the tables and measurements cited in our study, is by no means as satisfactory as the operational definitions described for "morale" and for "social status," it represents a beginning at an operational definition of the social institution or concept "church," and does at least point the way toward scientific empiricism and away from metaphysical speculation in the area of complex sociological concepts. The "seeking to discover" attribute of the heuristic definition may clarify social concepts in three ways: (1) by breaking down the whole

into parts that are individually susceptible of measurement, (2) by identifying the part-whole relationships, and (3) by helping to apprehend by visual means a pattern of component conceptual parts.

The recent work of Kurt Lewin²⁰ should be cited as an example of highly imaginative use of the heuristic definition of social concepts. The work of J. L. Moreno²¹ is another example of the use of heuristic devices in exploring a promising borderline field of social concepts. Lundberg²² has even more recently supplied a more realistic empirical base for this procedure, as has the work of Loomis.²³

We may now conclude this sketchy discussion of definitions of sociological concepts by repeating the earlier suggestion, namely, that sociological concepts may be defined (1) verbally, (2) heuristically, and (3) operationally.

²⁰ "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology; Concepts and Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, no. 6, May 1939, pp. 868-896; and Ronald Lippitt, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology; Autocratic and Democratic Group Atmosphere," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 55, no. 1, July 1939, pp. 26-49.

²¹ *Who Shall Survive?* 1934, and recent studies in *Sociometry*.

²² "The Sociometry of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 2, no. 3, June 1937, pp. 318-335; and "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, vol. 1, no. 3 and 4, Jan. Apr., 1938, pp. 375-419.

²³ "Development of Planned Rural Communities," *Rural Sociology*, vol. 3, no. 4, Dec. 1938, pp. 383-409.

¹⁸ "A Study of a Community and Its Groups and Institutions Conceived of as Behaviors of Individuals," *Psychological Monographs*, vol. 43, no. 195, 1932.

¹⁹ *Contemporary American Institutions*, 1935, pp. 211-217, 333-336, 367-371.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY—REEXAMINATION AND REDEFINITION

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SOMETHING less than a quarter-century ago some hitherto unidentified types of studies were discovered growing within the field of sociology. This new type of sociological growth was first identified as human ecology by Professors Burgess, McKenzie, and Park who subsequently piloted it to official recognition by the American Sociological Society. These scholars, who formally introduced human ecology to sociologists, described certain general features by which ecological studies apparently could be identified. For example, McKenzie, the first sociologist to attempt a formal definition, characterized human ecology as "a study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment."¹ The distinguishing characteristics contained in this definition—especially those of (1) spatial distribution, and (2) analysis in terms of environmental influence—seemed accurate and sufficient. The newly christened field of study appeared to be valuable, and dozens of hopeful investigators turned attention to it. One result of this wide awakening, combined with similar developments in the fields of biology and geography, has been the publication of numerous studies that have been tagged with the ecological label. A second result has grown out of the first; these hundreds of studies have shown such surprising diversity that the wide variety of publications now parading under the ecological banner has

led to confusion rather than to increased clarity. The nature of human ecology does not seem so clear today as it did a decade and a half ago.

Evidences of contemporary uncertainty concerning the nature of human ecology may be discovered in the literature of the past decade. At least three recognized academic disciplines—biology, geography, sociology—each claims human ecology as its own. Widely varying and even contradictory conceptions of the field may be found in the writings of Bews, Barrows, and Park. Within the realm of sociology the range of studies labeled as ecological has become so wide that not all of them can be fitted into the frame of reference of any one specialized field of science. Moreover, formal critical attacks upon ecological presuppositions, concepts and methods—such as those made by Alihan—indicate that the field of human ecology needs careful reexamination and redefinition.

The present discussion utilizes both negative criticism and constructive argument in formulating a redefinition of human ecology. The negative criticism is directed against two widely-held conceptions, each of which contains items of value but which nevertheless proves somewhat inadequate: (1) that human ecology is synonymous with the study of relations between men and their environment, and (2) that it is synonymous with the study of spatial distributions of human phenomena. The constructive argument seeks to discover the essential features of

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, 30: 288.

the ecological frame of reference—features which permit a more precise definition of the field and which enable sharper lines to be drawn between human ecology and marginal disciplines.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TWO WIDELY-HELD
BUT INADEQUATE CONCEPTIONS OF THE
NATURE OF HUMAN ECOLOGY

*Human ecology conceived as the study of
relations between men and their
environment*

The definition of human ecology as the study of relations between men and their environment has been widely accepted. Biological students of human ecology take this definition for granted, and many human geographers agree with them. The dictionary definition of ecology as "that branch of biology which deals with the mutual relations between organisms and their environment" supplies a traditional basis for the corresponding definition of human ecology.² Several sociologists—including Anderson, Hankins, House, and Lindeman—have explicitly subscribed to this point of view, while numerous others have accepted it implicitly.

This conception of human ecology proves inadequate for purposes of sociology. Critical analysis of the writings of Bews, a botanist, and of Barrows, a human geographer, indicates that sociologists need a more-limited and precise definition of the field.

J. W. Bews illustrates the fact that the preceding definition, unless limited in some way, leads to the conception of human ecology as an all-inclusive study of man. This author starts with a description of general ecology which he then applies to the human field. His concep-

tion of general ecology may be summarized as follows:

Life apart from the environment does not exist, and cannot be conceived. . . . At the same time the term environment apart from life is, of course, meaningless. . . . The interchange between the living protoplasm and the environment represents the working of the living machine. When this working ceases the organism dies. It no longer functions. . . . Environment, function, and organism constitute together what has been called the fundamental and biological triad. This triad must be studied as one complete whole, and this study is essentially what we mean by ecology.³

According to this inclusive point of view, *human ecology* makes use of data from every science that deals with the human biological triad; it "unifies all the human sciences and enables each one to find its proper place in a generalized study of man."⁴

The conception of human ecology as a broad inclusive synthesis has but little value for sociology. Even though the sociologist admits without argument the value of such a synthesis, he recognizes that it does not help him in defining human ecology as a specialized science; and sociologists do regard human ecology as a specialized and limited field of study.

A number of human geographers accept the definition of human ecology as the study of mutual relations between men and environment, but in practice they have limited its application to a specialized field of geographic study. Some geographers—for example, Barrows, Renner, and White—make human ecology synonymous with human geography. Barrows, the first geographer to publish this point of view, has written as follows:

. . . the center of gravity within the geographic field has shifted steadily from the extreme physical side toward the human side until geographers in

³ J. W. Bews, *Human Ecology*, pp. 1, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

² *Webster's New International Dictionary*.

increasing numbers define their subject as dealing solely with the mutual relations between man and his environment. . . . Thus defined, geography is the science of human ecology. . . . Geography will aim to make clear the relationships existing between the natural environment and the distribution and activities of man.⁵

White and Renner, whose volume is entitled *Geography, an Introduction to Human Ecology*, limit this field to a study of the direct relations between men or groups and their environments. This specialized field of study investigates problems of man's relation to his environment, both individually and in groups, such as (1) the effects of climate upon human health and energy; (2) the influences of resources and topography upon human occupations, homes, institutions, and inventions; (3) influences of natural routes and barriers upon social isolation and contact; and (4) possible effects of natural surroundings upon customs, attitudes, and beliefs. Thus these human geographers, who define human ecology as a specialized field of science, obviously disagree with Bews who regards it as an inclusive synthesis.

Although geographers have defined human ecology as a specialized science they have not achieved a definition that meets the needs of sociologists. Sociological students center their attention upon the relations of individuals or groups to one another rather than upon the direct relations of either individuals or groups to the environment. Sociologists are interested in human ecology as a valuable means of studying certain aspects of human interrelations *per se*. They study the relations of man to man as influenced by limited supplies of environmental resources rather than the direct relations of men or groups to environment.

⁵ H. H. Barrows, "Geography as Human Ecology," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 13: 3.

The fact that sociology has developed a distinctive ecological abstraction different from that of human geography needs to be emphasized. This difference becomes obvious in the fact that human geographers traditionally study many problems that sociological students would regard as outside their own field of interest; and, at the same time, geographers traditionally omit certain important problems that sociologists would place at the very heart of human ecology. Obviously the conception of human ecology as synonymous with human geography proves inadequate for sociology.

A paragraph may profitably be inserted concerning terminology. Possibly no one will deny that the term *human ecology*, like many other words of our language, may legitimately be used to carry widely different meanings. Bews had full right to use this term to designate the inclusive synthesis he described. Similarly Barrows had full right to use human ecology as synonymous with human geography. The present discussion attempts to avoid sterile debate over mere terminology. It recognizes that each of several meanings may possibly be valuable and correct. Therefore it should be understood that the present discussion refers only to the sociological meaning of the term. This latter meaning depends upon the fact that a specialized ecological field does exist within the realm of sociology. This specialized branch of sociology differs from the inclusive synthesis proposed by Bews and from the field of human geography. The discussion of contrasting points of view should not be interpreted as an argument that sociologists alone have the right to use the term. These contrasting points of view have been criticized for the sole purpose of arriving at a satisfactory definition of human ecology as a special-

ized field of sociological theory. During the remainder of this discussion, therefore, the term *human ecology* has been used to refer only to this specialized branch of sociology.

It seems obvious from the preceding discussion that the definition of human ecology as "the study of relations between men and their environment" is not sufficiently limited and precise. It does, however, contain one essential truth—viz. that relation to environment is a necessary fact of ecology. No sociological study can be called truly ecological unless it uses certain aspects of environmental influence as principles of interpretation. A sociological definition of human ecology requires, therefore, the description of a distinctive abstraction for analyzing certain limited aspects of human interrelations as influenced by the environment. This distinctive ecological abstraction has been described in the constructive argument of subsequent sections.

The conception that human ecology is synonymous with studies of spatial distributions of human phenomena

Among sociologists the most widely held conception of human ecology is that which makes it synonymous with studies of spatial distribution. Many outstanding sociologists have been prone to label any study as ecological to the degree that it includes data on the spatial spread of human phenomena. Perhaps no other criterion has been so widely used by sociologists for identifying human ecology as that of spatial distribution.

The present discussion contends that human ecology is not synonymous with studies of spatial distribution. Three lines of argument support this contention: (1) Spatial distributions which are purely accidental and those which result directly from formal social control are not eco-

logical. For example, the accidental distribution of persons upon a sidewalk is not primarily an ecological phenomenon. Moreover, the socially controlled formation of soldiers on parade and the formal seating of guests at a dinner for diplomats are not predominantly ecological phenomena, although they both involve spatial distribution. (2) Human ecology includes at least one aspect of community life that is not wholly spatial. It includes a study of the impersonal functional nexus that arises as a result of economic specialization and division of labor. This functional aspect of human interrelations is not primarily spatial although the fact that it is analyzed within the limits of communities or regions gives it a spatial connotation. This functional, division-of-labor nexus, which constitutes one important aspect of ecological structure, has been illustrated in a later part of this discussion. (3) Purely descriptive spatial studies are not ecological *per se*, although they contain data basic to ecological studies. Human ecology, as a science, does not stop with mere description, but always explains. Therefore, spot maps and other descriptive spatial studies become truly ecological only when the distributions are explained by the operation of fundamental ecological processes.

The three lines of argument given above show (1) that certain spatial studies are not ecological and (2) that ecology includes aspects which are not spatial. These arguments, therefore, contradict the contention that human ecology may be defined as synonymous with studies of spatial distribution of human phenomena.

A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTEMPT TO REDEFINE HUMAN ECOLOGY

The present attempt to redefine human ecology accepts as starting points the following three statements: (1) that

human ecology, like general ecology, never studies living organisms except in relation to the material environment; (2) that human ecology, as a branch of sociology, always studies the relations of man to man, and never the direct relations of man to environment; and (3) that human ecology always has a spatial connotation in that it limits its field to certain aspects of community or regional life.

After granting these three basic facts, one must discover additional distinguishing and delimiting characteristics that permit a more exact definition of the field.

Human ecology as a specialized field of scientific inquiry

If human ecology is to be defined as a specialized field of science it may be profitable to review briefly the basic principles by which such scientific fields may be marked out.

The function of a specialized science is to simplify complex reality by abstracting some distinctive aspect of it. The nature of a specialized science depends upon the distinctive abstraction it makes—upon the distinctive methods and concepts it uses and upon the distinctive types of problems it attempts to solve. Specialized sciences are not distinguished in terms of the nature of the total reality they help to explain, but in terms of the special abstractions they make in studying that reality.

Human ecology, like other specialized sciences may be defined and delimited in terms of the basic abstractions it makes. In particular, human ecology abstracts (1) a distinctive type of ecological interaction and (2) a distinctive aspect of community or regional structure that arises out of this interaction. These two basic ecological abstractions—interaction and structure—have been characterized and illustrated in the following pages.

The nature of ecological interaction

The most basic abstraction of the field of human ecology is that of ecological interaction. This distinctive subsocial type of interaction may be made clear by a simple illustration—one which describes three ways in which human beings may influence one another.

Assume that a small vessel is being tossed by a storm at sea. On board this ship two persons have been locked in an airtight vault from which they have been unable to escape. Under these conditions the imprisoned persons may modify one another in three distinct ways: (1) As the ship rolls they may be thrown back and forth across the vault. They may bump one another in the same way that two nonliving objects might jar and bruise one another. Their size, weight, and movement are significant factors at this level of inorganic interaction. (2) The imprisoned persons will no doubt talk to one another. They may reassure one another with logic, with joking, or with handclaps. These aspects of interaction, which involve exchanges of meaning through free-symbol communication, occur at the truly-human social level. (3) A third level of interaction—the ecological—depends upon the fact that each of the living creatures uses a portion of the limited supply of air within the vault. Because of this fact each tends to decrease the length of time the other can live unless rescued. Each alone would have a supply of air for several additional hours except for the presence of the other. Thus these imprisoned persons interact upon at least three levels—inorganic, social, and ecological.

Ecological interaction, as illustrated in the preceding paragraph, may be defined as that subsocial type of mutual modification whereby living organisms mutually influence one another through increasing or decreasing the limited supply

of some environmental factor upon which the other depends. This interaction does not include the direct influencing of men by their nonhuman environment as studied by human geographers. Neither does ecological interaction include the direct biological contact of person with person such as occurs in biological reproduction. Ecological interaction constitutes a distinctive abstraction from reality that is not characteristic of any other specialized field of science.

Ecological interaction underlies many aspects of community life. Merchants who want strategic commercial sites at the heart of the city compete for the limited supply of land in this location. Urban residents who wish homes in locations where they can best satisfy their needs bid for the limited supply of residential space available there. Successful job hunters in given industries crowd less-fortunate applicants into other occupations or into unemployment. Ecological interaction—wherein men influence the limited supplies of land, resources, and jobs upon which other men depend—underlies the basic spatial and functional structure of modern American communities.

Ecological interaction is not synonymous with competition, not even as this latter term has been defined by Park and Burgess. In the first place ecological interaction includes more than opposition or struggle. Men can aid one another ecologically by adding to the limited environmental supply upon which the others depend. Ecological interaction, therefore, includes certain aspects of mutual aid as truly as of opposition. In the second place competition occurs upon the social level of interaction as truly as upon the ecological level, and, therefore, includes certain aspects of human relations that are not ecological. For these two

reasons ecological interaction should not be regarded as synonymous with competition.

Ecological interaction, as defined above, constitutes the most important single criterion for delimiting human ecology as a specialized field of sociological investigation. The application of this criterion means that studies of spatial distributions are ecological only to the degree that they are analyzed in terms of ecological interaction. Similarly, studies of relations between men and their environment become ecological only when human interrelations are analyzed as resulting from mutual modification of men or groups through the medium of limited supplies of the environment. Ecological interaction serves to delimit human ecology from biology, human geography, social psychology, and various other specialized fields of study.

The nature of ecological structure

Ecological structure consists of that distinctive, impersonal, subsocial aspect of community or regional organization which arises and changes through the operation of ecological interaction. This ecological structure consists of something more than the mere fact of spatial and occupational distribution. Just as an automobile, which functions as a unit, involves something more than mere spatial proximity of parts, so the ecological community involves an interdependence which ties the whole into a working unity.

This ecological structure of community life presents two distinctive but inter-related aspects—(1) that of spatial organization, and (2) that of the functional division-of-labor nexus through which men obtain their living.

The spatial structure of the city illustrates one aspect of ecological structure.

Within the city the central business district, for example, cannot be understood as an isolated spatial unit. The rise, growth, and location of this central business area depends (1) upon the existence and location of factories and warehouses from which the stores obtain stocks of goods, and (2) upon areas of residence which supply the customers. Merchants competing against other merchants for strategic commercial locations develop the central business district. Similarly, other urban areas—industrial and residential—find their respective locations and functions as coordinated parts of a unified city. Each area takes on its character and location because it performs a specialized function within the larger communal structure. The mosaic composed of smaller urban areas is tied together by relations of ecological interdependence.

The functional aspect of ecological structure involves a complex division-of-labor nexus through which persons earn their living. This aspect of structure depends upon at least three facts: (1) that the demands of a given population for specialized commodities and services influence the number of persons employed in each of these specialized occupations; (2) that the size of population which shops within an area influences the number and types of specialized stores and services that can succeed there; and (3) that specialized occupations and services relate themselves to one another in functional chains wherein each depends upon others and the whole constitutes a complex unity. The subsocial aspects of this division-of-labor structure form an essential part of the ecological structure of the community, but they have not been thoroughly studied by sociologists.

Ecological structure applies primarily to groups that involve territorial area as

an essential component—for example, communities and regions—as contrasted with social groups which have no correspondingly important areal basis. Even within the community, however, ecological structure—spatial and functional—is not synonymous with total community structure but constitutes only a limited aspect of it. The ecological exists along with other aspects of community life such as formal political structure, informal social structure, and the cultural organization of the community. Ecological structure is, therefore, not a separate phenomenon of reality, but only an important abstraction from reality. This abstraction aids in the simplification of complex community life in which sociologists seek regular principles of analysis.

Summary redefinition of human ecology

In view of the preceding negative criticism and constructive argument, human ecology may now be defined tentatively as *a specialized field of sociological analysis which investigates (1) those impersonal subsocial aspects of communal structure—both spatial and functional—which arise and change as the result of interaction between men through the medium of limited supplies of the environment, and (2) the nature and forms of the processes by which this subsocial structure arises and changes.*

Human ecology, as here defined, does not purport to analyze the total reality of community life. It contributes to the understanding of community phenomena through its own distinctive limited abstractions of ecological interaction and ecological structure.

The value of human ecology depends upon the validity and significance of its own specialized abstractions and not upon its service in supplying indexes of social life. Relations between the ecological

and the truly social aspects of community life—presumably studied by use of “ecological indexes”—are only marginal to human ecology and not an essential part of it. These “ecological indexes” may be studied by human ecology as well as by other marginal disciplines, but the essence of human ecology, as of other specialized sciences, depends upon its

own distinctive abstractions from reality and not upon these marginal analyses. Human ecology stands or falls upon its ability to simplify and clarify the impersonal, subsocial aspects of communities and regions, and not upon its success in supplying short-cuts to the study of those elusive aspects of social life which depend upon communication of meaning.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF DISTINCTION: THE NATION AND ITS REGIONS 1790-1927

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University of North Carolina

THE completion in the period 1927-1934 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*¹ with its 13,633 biographies of non-living notables, selected for prominence and achievement, gives us our first real opportunity to study the geography of distinction in the United States.²

In the space at our disposal we will consider three main questions: 1. What state and regional differences are found in the production of men of distinction by periods from 1790 to 1860? 2. What occupational differences are found by regions and periods? 3. What are the

trends of migration of notables? For the Great Divide in American History we take the Civil War and separate the notables into two groups—those dying before and those dying after January 1, 1866. For our regional divisions we follow Howard W. Odum's sixfold division of the United States into Northeast, Southeast, Middle States, Northwest, Southwest, and Far West.³ Only the first three are of major importance here.

There are 13,633 notables listed in the *Dictionary*. Of these, 78.4 percent or 10,684 are native white and thus can be related to a necessary population base in our calculations. This factor plus regional variations in ethnic composition dictated the necessity of excluding the foreign born, Negro, and Indian groups. It is noteworthy, however, that about 16.5 percent of those listed in the *Dictionary* are foreign born, 4.5 percent Negroes, and 0.6 percent Indians.

Only by disregarding the time factor can these figures be related to base populations. Thus in 1890 foreign-born whites

* With the assistance of Nadia Danilevski, Statistical Assistant, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Special counts of those listed in the *Dictionary* were made by W. G. Piersel and Floyd N. Cox for the Study of the Southern People. The author is indebted to the Study and to Howard W. Odum, Director of the Institute, for the opportunity of reporting this preliminary account of one of its projects.

¹ Hereafter referred to as the *Dictionary*.

² Cf. Dumas Malone, "The Geography of American Achievement," *Atlantic Monthly*, 154, pp. 669-79 (1934). This first analysis while not quantitative has the great advantage of being written against the background criteria on which the selections were based.

³ Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

composed 15 percent of the total population (16.5 of the notables), the average Negro population between 1790 and 1860 was 16.8 percent of the total for the same period (4.5 percent of the notables), and Indians in 1880 were 0.3 percent of the total (0.6 percent of the notables). American-born women, it may be pointed out, comprise only 4.7 percent of all native-white notables. Obviously, mothers and wives who shared in the struggles and had a large part in accounting for the "fame" of notable men are, by the very nature of things, omitted from separate listings.

I

After the number of notables was obtained, it was necessary to compute base populations in order to compare various states and regions in the productivity of men of distinctions. Since the growth of states was rapid and irregular, complicated at the same time by extensive internal migrations of native whites, it seemed best to compute ratios by short periods—in this case, decades. We may call these ratios, "birth rates of notables," employing the simple formula: average number of notables born per year during the decade divided by the average white population during the same decade. The resulting ratio was then multiplied by 1,000,000 to give a simple birth rate of notables. These rates could be computed only for the period from 1790 to 1860, for there is no census before 1790; and we could not continue computation for decades later than 1860, because many notables would still be living and thus not included in our ratios.⁴

⁴ We felt justified in going as far as 1860, since we saw that notables who died in 1866 are about all covered in the group born before 1800 (see page —); this makes a lag of 66 years, and we have 66 years between 1860 and date of the *Dictionary* (1927-1934).

For the purpose of "ranking" we computed average birth rates of notables for the whole period

The results give support to the oft lamented view that great men are becoming fewer. Both in the nation and its regions distinction, it seems, is passing from the leaders to the masses. The numerical chances of becoming famous are greater during the founding of a small nation than in maintaining the country after it becomes more populous. Stated more precisely the chances of achieving distinction as measured by the criteria of the *Dictionary* are diminishing. In the decades from 1790 to 1819 the "birth rates" of notables was above 19 per million, from 1820 to 1860, it progressively fell by decades from 14.7 to 10.8 to 6.3 to 3.7 (Figure I).

For all regions the decade 1810-1820 is the highest point in the birth of great men. The Northeast ranks highest in the production of notables, reaching a high "birth rate" of 23.1; the Southeast is next with 14.6, the Middle States with 12.6. All successively fall until the decade 1850-1860 shows the Northeast with 5.4, the Middle States with 2.8, and the Southeast with 1.9 notables born per million population. Outstanding among the states are Massachusetts which reaches a birth rate of notables of 40.4 per million, while South Carolina and Virginia have rates of 17.8 and 16.0 respectively in their best decades. Ohio leads the Middle States. All other regions, as we shall see, because of later settlement have had to develop their great men out of imported articles.

Dividing the average annual births of notables for the period from 1790 to 1860 by the average population for the same period, we can arrive at an "average birth rate" of notables for the whole period.

(1790-1860), omitting from states ranked those which had only 20 notables or less for this period. We chose 20 to eliminate "Other Regions" which have not been studied satisfactorily.

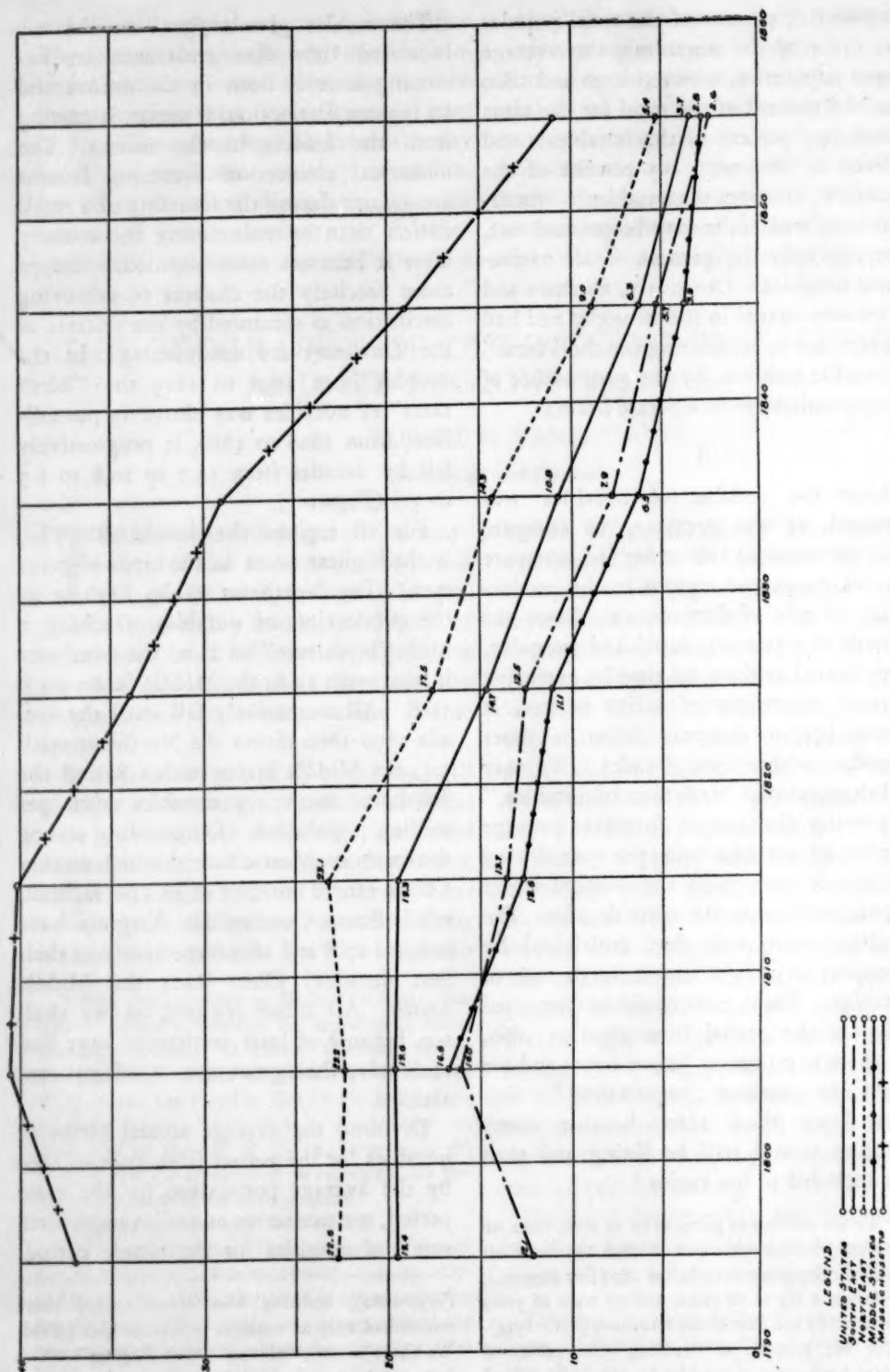
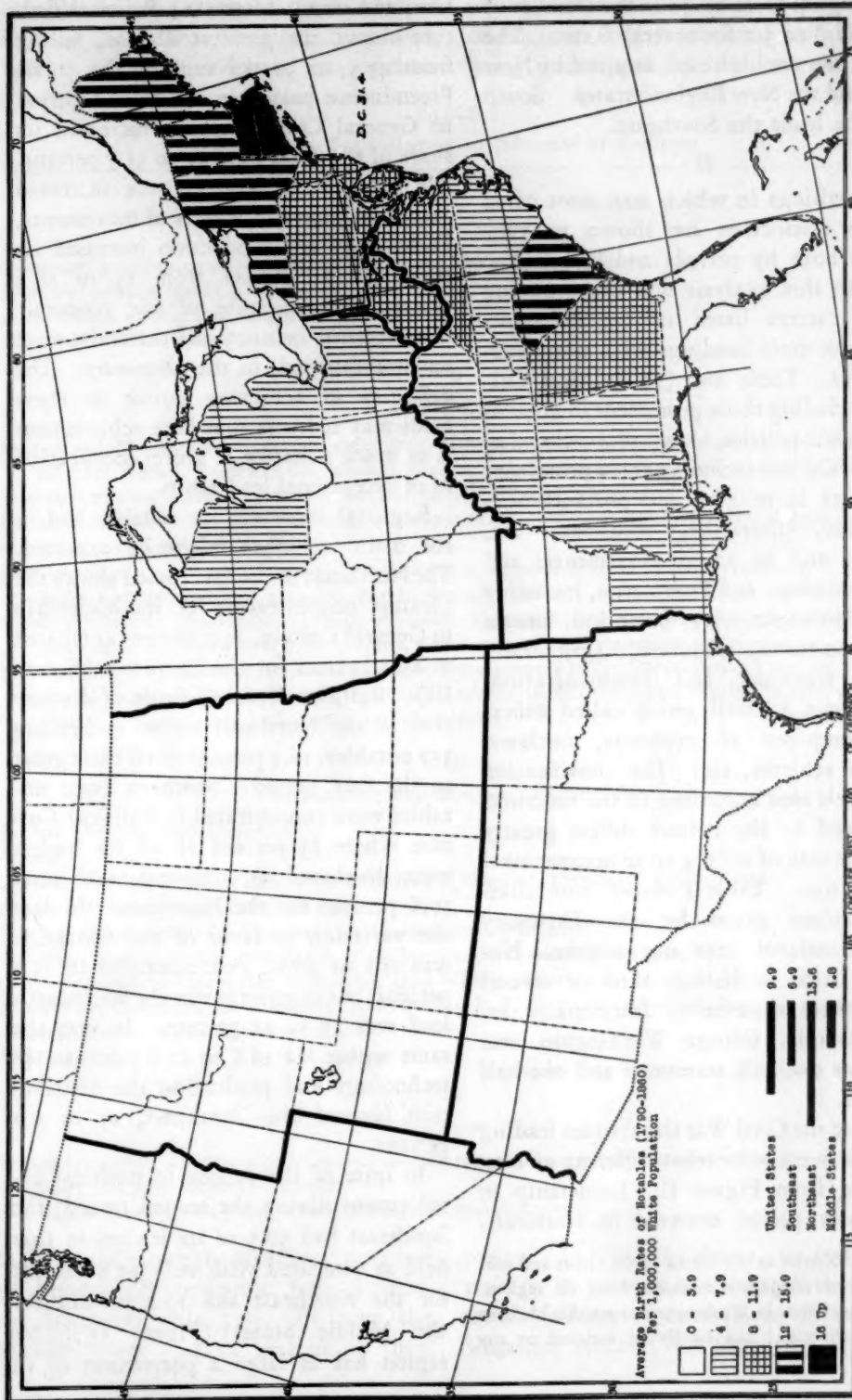


FIG. 1. BIRTH RATES OF NOTABLES (1790-1860) PER MILLION NATIVE WHITE POPULATION



Base map reproduced by permission of The University of Chicago Press

AVERAGE BIRTH RATES OF NATIVES PER MILLION NATIVE WHITE POPULATION, 1790-1860

The range is from 31.4 for the District of Columbia⁵ to 3.2 for several states. The map shows the high rank attained by New York and the New England states. South Carolina leads the Southeast.

II

The callings in which men most often rise to distinction are shown to vary greatly both by periods and by regions. Basic to this analysis was the grouping of all careers listed in the *Dictionary* into three main headings with many subdivisions. These are: (1) Political Culture, including those prominent in government and politics, law, and war; (2) General Culture including those prominent as leaders in religion and philanthropy, education, literature, medicine, art, science, and in social movements; and (3) Technology and Production, including leaders in engineering, invention, finance and commerce, industry, agriculture, crafts, transport and communication. Last comes a small group called others and composed of explorers, outlaws, famous athletes, etc. The classification of notable men according to the functions performed in the culture differs greatly from the task of setting up an occupational distribution. Table I shows how characterizations given by the *Dictionary* were translated into our scheme. Notables listed as distinguished in several fields were distributed fractionally as, for example, George Washington was listed as one-half statesman and one-half general.

Before the Civil War the avenues leading to fame were somewhat different as may be seen from Figure II. Leadership in our early period centered in statecraft,

⁵ The District as the Mecca of the Great and near great drew temporary residents from all regions. They gave birth in Washington to notable children who with justice can hardly be assigned to any region.

law, and war. After 1865 Political Culture shows the greatest decline, falling from 43.5 to 30 per cent of the total. Preeminence passed in the second period to General Culture which increased its share of the total from 41 to 53.7 percent. All items in General Culture increased except religion and leaders of movements. Technology and production increased its share of the famous from 13 to 16.6 percent, but in spite of our economic achievements industry and the crafts seem underrepresented, in the *Dictionary*. The difficulty of achieving notice in these fields may indicate that here achievement is as much a matter of group cooperation as of exceptional leadership.

Regional contrasts are notable and in the main are what might be expected. The Northeast in the first period shows the greatest concentration of its leadership in General Culture, 45.7 percent compared to 25.8 percent for the Southeast (Figure III). Religion leads all fields of distinction in the Northeast region embracing 357 notables, 16.4 percent of all their great in the first period. Southern born notables were concentrated in Political Culture where 63 percent of all its leaders were developed as compared with only 37.6 percent for the Northeast. In law the variation in favor of the Southeast was not so great, 15.2 compared to 13.6 percent; but in government the Southeast's lead was 29 to 11 percent. In war the same region led 18.8 to 12.8 percent. In technology and production the distribution favored the Northeast, 15 to 6.2 percent.

In spite of the decline in political development during the second period, the Southeast had 50.5 of its leaders in this field as compared with only 21.8 percent for the Northeast and 29.4 percent for the Middle States (Figure IV). No region has as large a porportion of its

notables in any calling as the South had native born in this field. The proportion in these three: Government, 21.7 percent; of religious leaders declined still further War, 15.3 percent; and Law, 13.5 percent. being outstripped by literature in every

TABLE I
FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF NOTABLES BY CALLINGS

I

POLITICAL CULTURE

Government: statesman, president, senator, governor, diplomat, legislator, mayor.

Politician: political leader, party leaders.

Army: soldier, general Indian fighter, spy.

Navy: naval officer, privateersman.

II

GENERAL CULTURE

Religion and Philanthropy: clergyman, theologian, bishop, missionary, apostle of peace, philanthropist, religious worker, humanitarian, masonic ritualist, reformer, settlement worker, relief worker.

Education: educator, teacher, professor, lecturer, orator, librarian, philosopher.

Literature: author, writer, poet, playwright, almanac maker, publicist, newspaperman, journalist, critic, editor, lexicographer.

Medicine: physician, surgeon, hygienist, epidemiologist, ophthalmologist, dentist, veterinary.

Art: artist, sculptor, architect, musician, dancer, singer, engraver.

Science: astronomer, geographer, chemist, naturalist, anatomist, hydrographer, geologist, metallurgist, mathematician, statistician, ethnographer, philologist, scholar, economist, sociologist.

Leaders of Movements: labor leaders, labor agitators, Revolutionary leaders: Revolutionary heroine, Revolutionary patriots, signers of Declaration of Independence, women suffragists, loyalist, patriot, unionist, Mother of Confederacy, secessionist, and abolitionist.

III

TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

Engineer: civil, mechanical engineer.

Inventor.

Commerce: merchant, trader, slave trader, fur trader, chandler, bookseller, business man.

Finance: banker, financier, insurance man.

Industry: manufacturer, ice king, meat packer, mechanic, lithographer.

Agriculture: planter, farmer, pomologist, horse-breeder, cattle man, agriculturist.

Crafts: carpenter, cabinet maker, silversmith, glass blower, printer, glazer.

Transport and Communication: Transport: R. R. builder, R. R. director, shipbuilder.

Aviation: aviator, pioneer in aviation.

Telephone.

IV

OTHERS

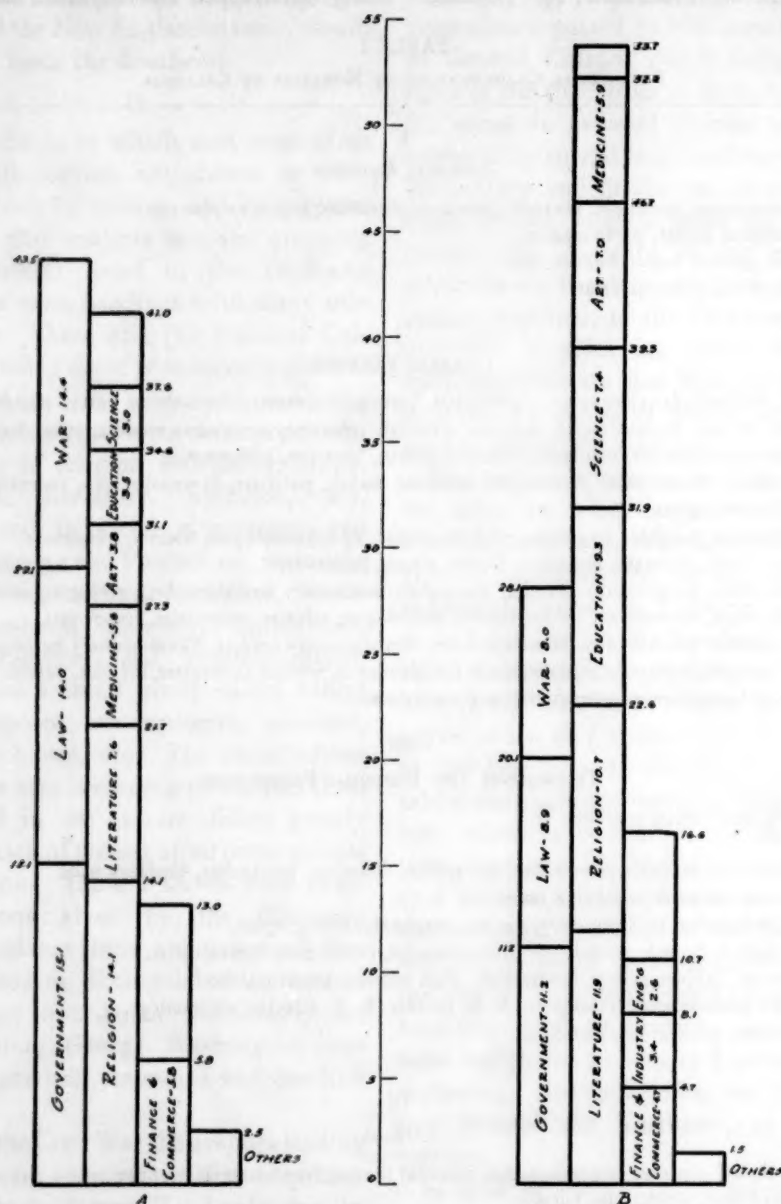
Explorers: traveler, explorer, pioneer, scout, colonial ranger, frontiersman, trapper.

Adventurer: bad man, desperado, burglar.

Athletics and Sports: tennis player, coach, horse racer, base ball player.

In General Culture the Northeast now had 58 percent of its native born leaders; the Southeast only 37.3. By now the Middle States had 53 percent of their region. In the Northeast, in fact, 674 writers, 12.3 percent, composed the largest single brace of notables in the region. Scientists reached as high as 8.0 and

9.0 percent of all notables in the Northeast and Middle States but remained at Economic culture also claimed a greater share of the famed, 17.5 percent for the



A - NOTABLES DEAD BEFORE 1866
B - NOTABLES DEAD IN 1866 AND AFTER

FIG. II. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NOTABLES LIVING BEFORE AND AFTER 1866

only 4.0 percent in the Southeast. Educators and artists loomed larger in all regions.

Northeast, 15 percent for the Middle States, but again the South lagged with only 10 percent. Five and four-tenths

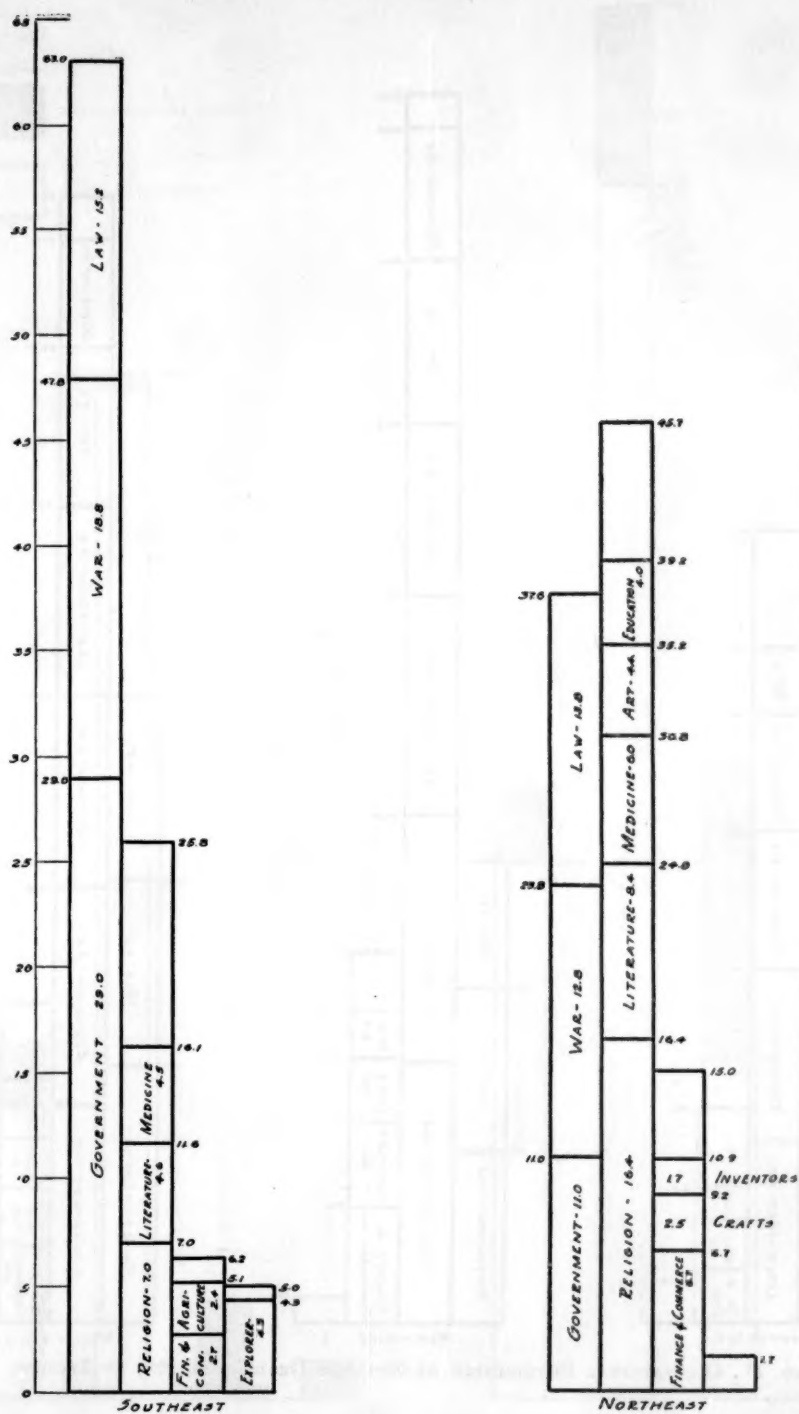


FIG. III. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NOTABLES DEAD BEFORE 1866 BY REGIONS

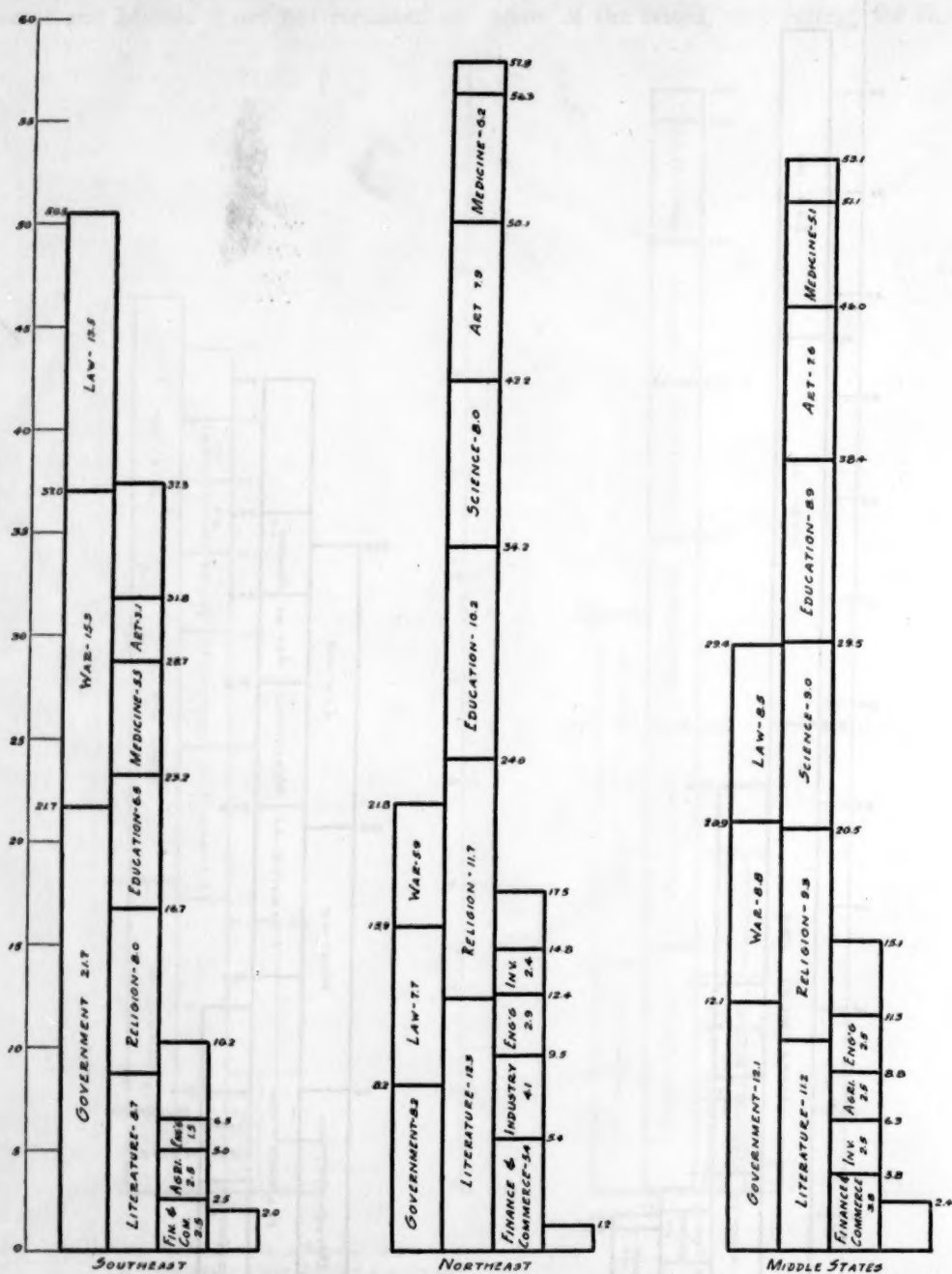


FIG. IV. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NOTABLES DEAD AFTER 1865 BY REGIONS

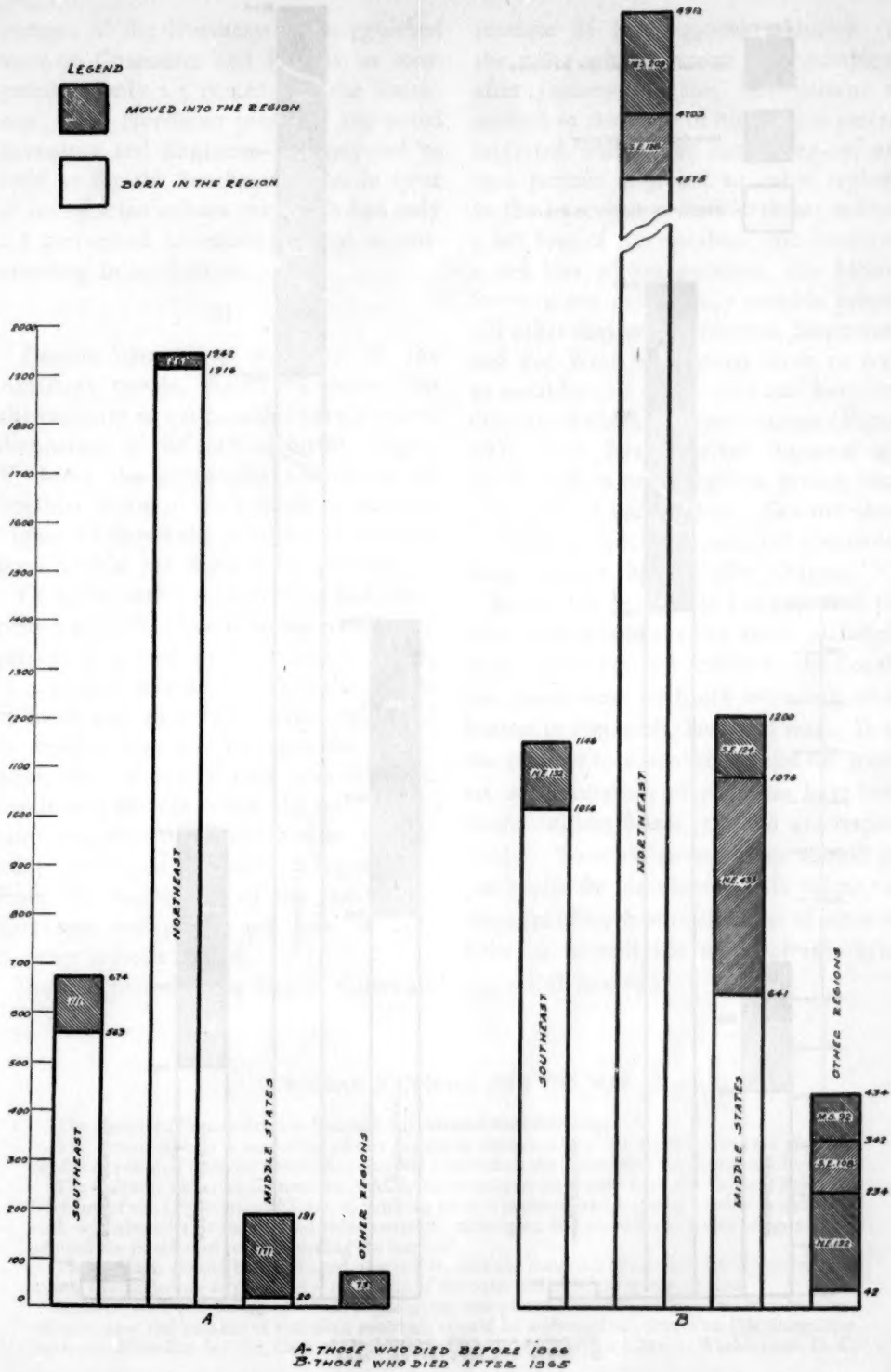


FIG. V. SOURCE BY REGIONS OF BIRTH OF TOTAL NOTABLES RESIDING IN THREE REGIONS BEFORE AND AFTER JANUARY 1, 1866

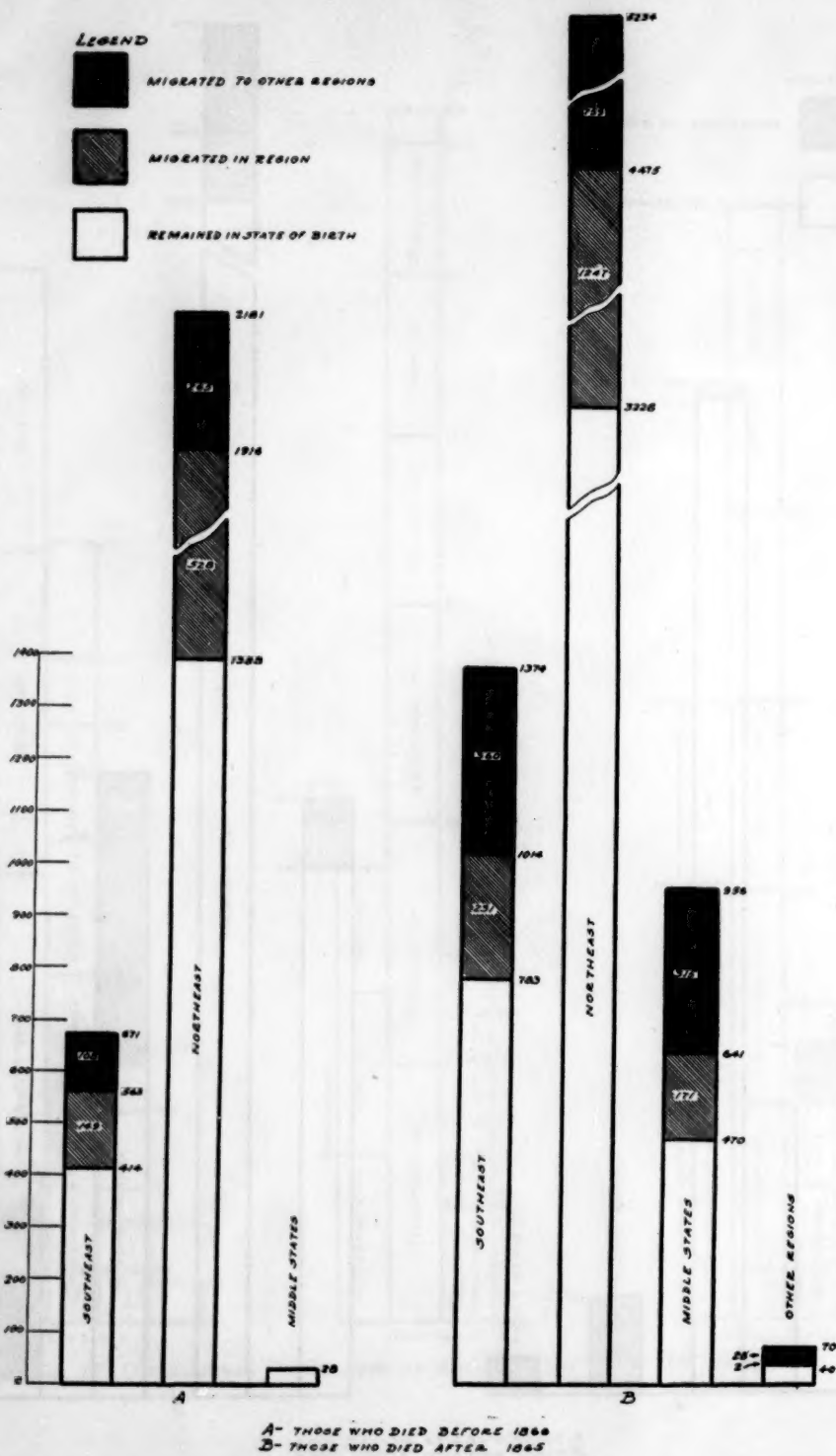


FIG. VI. MOBILITY OF NOTABLES BORN WITHIN THREE REGIONS BEFORE AND AFTER JANUARY 1, 1866

percent of the Northeast's distinguished were in Commerce and Finance as compared to only 2.5 percent for the Southeast. The Northeast produced 279 noted Inventors and Engineers as compared to only 37 for the Southeast. Yet in spite of its agrarian culture the South had only 2.5 percent of its notables listed as outstanding in agriculture.

III

Despite the great mobility of the American people, Figure VI shows that the majority of our notables have attained distinction in the state of birth. Figure V shows the geographic sources of all notables living in the regions by periods; Figure VI shows the mobility of notables born within the regions by periods.

Of 2,880 native whites who had completed notable careers before 1866, 63.1 percent remained in their native states, 23.4 percent migrated within the region of birth and only 13.5 percent migrated to another region. The greatest movement, that of 171 persons, was into the developing Middle States, the least movement was that of 26 notables to the already developed Northeast (Figure V). From the migrations of the famed the Northeast suffered a net loss of 239; all other regions gained.

The next period of our history shows an

increase of interregional mobility. Of the 7,634 whose careers were completed after January 1, 1866, 59.2 percent remained in the state of birth, 21.6 percent migrated within the native region, and 19.2 percent migrated to other regions. In the interchange the Northeast suffered a net loss of 402 notables, the Southeast a net loss of 212 notables, the Middle States a net gain of 247 notable people. All other regions, Northwest, Southwest, and Far West have given birth to only 70 notables (all after 1865) and have lost only 28 of these to other regions (Figure VI). They have received however 468 notables from other regions, giving them a net gain of 440 notables. Seventy-three of these moved early, and had completed their careers before 1866 (Figure V).

In all, the Northeast has exported the most talent, some 1,024 souls including many ministers and teachers; the Southeast comes next with 468 including many leaders in statecraft, law, and war. Both the greatest total movement and the greatest net migration of notables have been to the Middle States, 733 and 410 respectively. To what environment should go the credit for developing this talent, to the state of birth or to the state of achievement, is beyond the scope of this brief statistical analysis.

EUROPEAN JOURNALS AND THE WAR

The American Documentation Institute has released the following:

The non-receipt by a subscriber of any European chemical or other scientific journal seriously needed as research material should be promptly reported to the American Documentation Institute.

The Cultural Relations Committee of ADI, which cooperates closely with the Cultural Relations Division of the Department of State, is working on this problem, and hopes to be able to surmount such war obstacles as interrupted transportation, embargoes and censorship, which so grievously affected the progress of research during the last war.

The principle should be established, if possible, that the materials of research having no relation to war shall continue to pass freely, regardless of the countries of origin or destination.

Reports, with full details of where subscription was placed and name and address of subscriber, volume, date and number of last issue received, should be addressed to: American Documentation Institute, Bibliofilm Service, Care of U. S. Department of Agriculture Library, Washington, D. C.

DISTRIBUTION AND EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG FARM LABORERS IN THE UNITED STATES¹

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University of Minnesota

THE extent of unemployment among farm wage laborers in the United States is difficult, if not impossible, to determine for the quite obvious reason that there is no satisfactory base upon which to calculate the percentage unemployed. In other words, we do not know how many farm wage laborers there are at any given time in the United States. The Census of 1930 enumerated agricultural workers gainfully employed, over 10 years of age, by "wageworker" and "unpaid family worker" groups. This complete occupational enumeration was made as of April 1, 1930—a relatively low month for agricultural employment—and it would not be unreasonable to expect that a similar census taken in July would show a considerably larger number of people in the class of "wageworkers." Individuals move into and out of agricultural work, since the demand for labor fluctuates widely with the seasons. Thousands of young people—boys and girls—may work for a few weeks during the rush season in certain crops, but probably would not give their occupation as "farm laborer," when interviewed in an off season. A still more important consideration is the classification of sharecroppers, who are enumerated as farm operators by the Census, but who might more properly be listed as laborers. This ques-

tion has been ably discussed of late by Karl Brandt.²

The present paper is an analysis of unemployment among farm wage workers based on data from the 1937 Census of Unemployment, Bureau of Agricultural Economics employment estimates, and other Census data. The Census of Unemployment³ taken in November of 1937 gives data on total and partial unemployment by occupational classes. These data provide a base for the determination of the total number of unemployed farm laborers (hired labor) in the United States at that time. The data, however, require definite appraisal before they can be used intelligently in any analysis.

In making its estimates the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, like the Census, classified croppers as farm operators rather than wage workers and they are therefore not included in their figures. On the other hand, it is quite possible that many croppers, tenants, and even owners designated themselves as unemployed laborers when reporting for the Census of Unemployment. It should be noted, however, that in classifying the returns, an attempt was made to separate the unemployed farm "owners" and "tenants" from laborers as such insofar as possible. Also, a category for "new workers" was set up to include those who had not yet chosen an occupation. Nevertheless, it is probable that some farmers registered as farm

¹ The author is indebted to the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics for permission to use the estimates of farm laborers for Nov. 1937; and to Roger F. Hale of the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates for supplying the estimates by "Farming Areas," and for offering valuable suggestions on the manuscript. The writer is also indebted to Eldon E. Shaw for reading the manuscript and offering suggestions for revision.

² Karl Brandt, "Fallacious Census Terminology and Its Consequence in Agriculture," *Social Research*, 5: 1, (Feb. 1938) pp. 19-36.

³ "Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment, 1937," 4 vol. *Government Printing Office*, Washington, D. C., 1938.

laborers who should nominally be classified as "owners" and "tenants." In any voluntary registration, such as this, there is bound to be much variation in the manner in which individuals respond to a questionnaire.

Of greater importance than the misinterpretation of the questionnaire by those who receive it, is the probability that large numbers of migratory workers did not receive a questionnaire at all. Moreover, many Negro and white "croppers," wage hands, and tenants in the Southern States are highly mobile and receive mail only at infrequent intervals. The Enumerative Check Census,⁴ which was made on 1,640 residential postal routes in the United States, showed that the total registration of unemployed, including emergency workers, was 71.4 percent complete. The registration of male workers was 78.4 percent and that of females 56.9 percent.⁵ But only 82 percent of the population of the United States lived on residential postal routes. The balance were dwellers in those "towns and villages which do not have postal delivery service, in undeveloped city suburbs, and in remote rural areas."⁶ Since many of the farm laborers of the country do live in "remote rural areas," and since migratory workers especially are often not accessible to postal service, the completeness of registration of the group we are dealing with is probably less than the percentage given for all unemployed. It was found in the enumerative check, for example, that the completeness of registration of the totally unemployed people living on farms on the postal routes was less than the non-

farm rural, and less than for any size city except for the "less than 10,000" group. The percentage completeness of registration of emergency workers was definitely lower for the farm than for the nonfarm rural, or for any of the urban places by size.⁷

In this analysis no attempt has been made to adjust the registration figures in accordance with the percentage of completeness as indicated by the enumerative check. In the first place, the regions used in this paper are not comparable to the census regions. In the second place, the enumerative check was made on a "functional," but not on an occupational classification. As indicated above, there is reason to believe that the completeness of registration of farm laborers is less than for the other occupational groups, due to inaccessibility to the postal service. The total number of farm laborers who registered as unemployed or on emergency work might conservatively be increased by 30 percent.

Unemployed workers are considered as those reporting themselves totally unemployed and those employed on emergency work. The 426,000 farm laborers who registered as partly unemployed are left out of consideration in this paper for two reasons: (1) Since the Bureau of Agricultural Economics considers a person working in agriculture an equivalent of two or more days a week as employed in agriculture, it is highly probable that a considerable proportion of the "partially employed" is incorporated in the B.A.E. estimate of employment; but (2) since individuals doubtless differ greatly in their judgment as to what constitutes partial employment, to include the partially unemployed would exaggerate the rate of unemployment unless multiplied by a fraction representing the portion of

⁴ *The Enumerative Check Census*, by Calvert L. Dedrick and Morris H. Hansen, Vol. IV of the Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment, Washington, 1938.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

time actually unemployed. No basis exists for determining what fraction to use. In addition, approximately 170,000 owners and tenants who registered in the Census were not included as wage workers.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics publishes current data on the employment of hired farm workers as of the first of each month. Such data, together with that from the Census of Unemployment, provide a basis for determining the total supply of farm laborers in the United States as of November 1937. The validity of the total arrived at by this method is dependent upon the accuracy of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates of the employed hired laborers, on the one hand, and, on the other, the adequacy of the Census of Unemployment. Since the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates are based upon decennial and quinquennial enumerations, there is reason to believe that they represent a reasonably accurate approximation of the true number, accepting the census practice of classifying share croppers and their families as unpaid family laborers.

Since the Unemployment Census questionnaires were distributed on November 16 and returns were received during the period from November 16 to 21, and since the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates are made as of the first of each month, it was decided for purposes of this analysis to take an average of the employment estimates for November 1 and December 1. This figure is used as the nearest approximation available of the number who were employed at the time the Census was made.

Whatever the shortcomings of the sources of the data used in the present discussion, these figures constitute the best approximation available of the total number of farm laborers in the United States and in the various regions con-

sidered, as well as being the best measure of the extent of unemployment in this occupational class. The analysis is based upon the "type of farming areas" used in the W. P. A. National Research Project on Reemployment Opportunities and Recent Changes in Industrial Techniques,⁸ since it seemed probable that this subdivision of the United States would reveal variations by type of farming as well as geographic regions. For present purposes, some slight rearrangement of the N. R. P. regions has been made in order to include seven states which were left out of any type of farming area. The modifications are as follows:⁹ (1) Florida and California are considered together as a region; (2) Maine, Rhode Island, and New Jersey have been arbitrarily incorporated with the Eastern Dairy Area; (3) Delaware was added to the Middle

⁸ Reference is made especially to "Trends in Size and Production of the Aggregate Farm Enterprise, 1909-36," by Raymond G. Bressler, Jr., and John A. Hopkins, Report No. A-6, *Works Progress Administration*, Phila., Pa., July, 1938. The "Major Farming Areas" are delineated on p. 6.

⁹ The distribution of States by farming areas as used in this paper is as follows:

Corn	Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Ohio.
Eastern Dairy	Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.
Western Dairy	Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin.
Eastern Cotton	Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina.
Delta Cotton	Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri.
Western Cotton	Oklahoma, Texas.
Small Grain	Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.
Middle Eastern	Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia.
Range	Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming.
Northwestern	Idaho, Oregon, Washington.
California and Florida are considered as one region.	

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG FARM LABORERS

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TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION BY FARMING AREAS BY NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FARM LABORERS EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED AS OF NOVEMBER 15, 1937
(In thousands)

AREA	TOTAL		EMPLOYED*		UNEMPLOYED**	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States.....	3,212	100.0	2,497	100.0	715	100.0
Corn.....	385	12.0	328	13.1	57	7.9
Eastern Dairy.....	318	9.9	269	10.8	49	6.8
Western Dairy.....	233	7.2	196	7.9	37	5.1
Middle Eastern.....	461	14.3	348	13.9	113	15.6
Eastern Cotton.....	343	10.6	248	9.9	95	13.1
Delta Cotton.....	430	13.3	304	12.2	126	17.4
Western Cotton.....	415	12.9	296	11.9	119	16.4
Small Grain.....	183	5.7	125	5.0	58	8.0
Range.....	129	4.0	104	4.2	25	3.4
Northwestern.....	90	2.8	71	2.8	19	2.6
California and Florida.....	235	7.3	208	8.3	27	3.7

* Estimate for Nov. 15, in order to correspond in time more nearly with the Unemployment Census* (Nov. 16-21) was arrived at by taking the average of the B.A.E. estimates for Nov. 1 and Dec. 1, 1937

** Includes laborers registering in the Unemployment Census as "totally unemployed" and those engaged in "emergency work." "Partly unemployed" are excluded. Number unemployed is expressed in the nearest thousand to the actual number reported.

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF FARM LABORERS EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED IN EACH FARMING AREA AND IN THE UNITED STATES
(In thousands)

AREA	TOTAL FARM LABORERS		EMPLOYED NOV. 15		UNEMPLOYED NOV. 16-21		TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED*		EMERGENCY WORK*	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States.....	3,212	100	2,497	77.5	715	22.5	542	74.8	183	25.2
Corn.....	385	100	328	85.2	57	14.8	38	66.7	19	33.3
Eastern Dairy.....	318	100	269	84.6	49	15.4	38	77.6	11	22.4
Western Dairy.....	233	100	196	84.1	37	15.9	27	73.0	10	27.0
Middle Eastern.....	461	100	348	75.5	113	24.5	81	71.7	32	28.3
Eastern Cotton.....	343	100	248	72.3	95	27.7	78	82.1	17	17.9
Delta Cotton.....	430	100	304	70.7	126	29.3	98	77.8	28	22.2
Western Cotton.....	415	100	296	71.3	119	28.7	88	73.9	31	26.1
Small Grain.....	183	100	125	68.3	58	31.7	38	65.5	20	34.5
Range.....	129	100	104	80.6	25	19.4	19	76.0	6	24.0
Northwestern.....	90	100	71	78.9	19	21.1	16	84.2	3	15.8
California and Florida.....	235	100	208	88.5	27	11.5	20	74.1	7	25.9

* Percent of "unemployed."

Eastern Area; (4) Missouri, for our purposes, was added to the Delta Cotton. (It might, with equal justification, be added to the Corn Area, but it is assumed

PERCENT OF FARM LABORERS IN DIFFERENT
AREAS REGISTERED AS "UNEMPLOYED" NOV. 1937

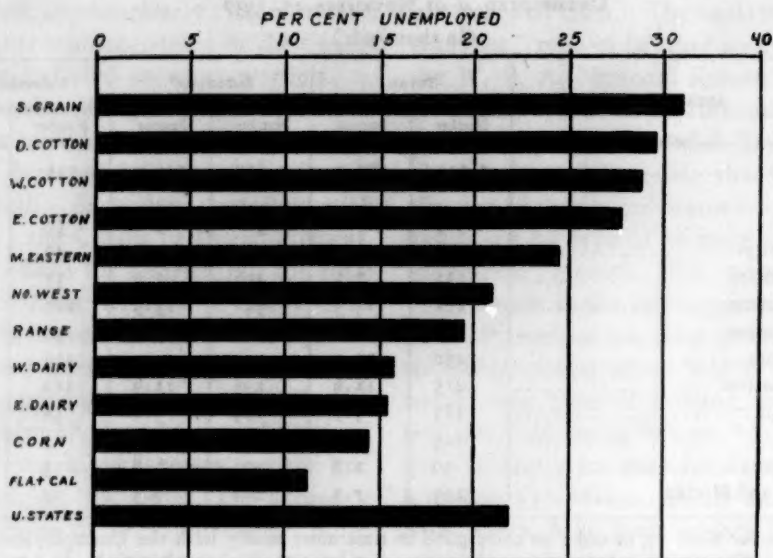


CHART 1

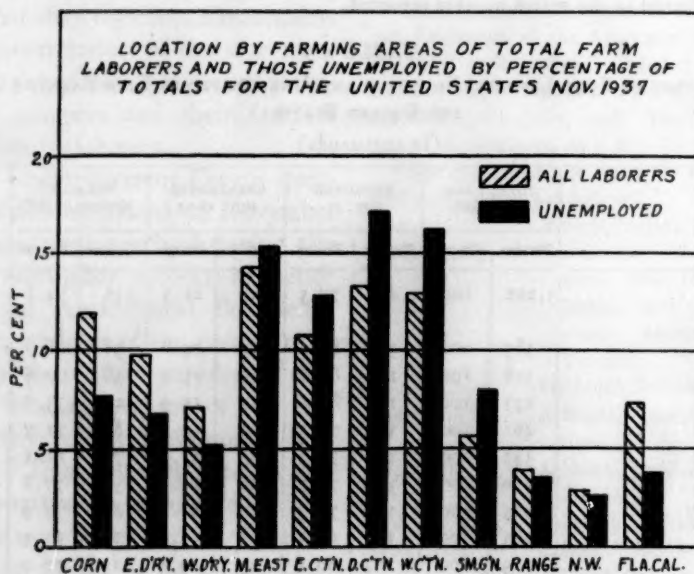


CHART 2

that so far as its labor group is concerned, it probably is more logically associated with the Cotton Area.)

WHAT THE FIGURES SHOW

The two tables and the accompanying charts showing employment and unem-

ployment as of November 1937 reveal the following:

1. The total number of farm laborers as of November 1937 is 3,222,000.¹⁰ When the figure for the registered unemployed is adjusted upward by 30 percent the total number of laborers becomes 3,435,500. This total is considerably higher than that usually assumed for the United States. The complete enumeration by occupational class in 1930 gave only 2,732,972. The highest number of employed hired workers given in the B.A.E. estimates since 1925 was 3,757,000 for October, 1926. In July 1930, total employment of hired workers was estimated at 3,513,000.¹¹ While the total of 3,222,000 seems large in comparison with the 1930 Census, it is not unreasonable in view of these earlier "estimates."¹² Admitting possible inaccuracies in our sources, some indications point to a recent large increase in farm laborers as a result of the forces which have been in operation during late years to bring into this class many former sharecroppers, tenants, and owners. Acreage restriction, foreclosure, drought, and mechanization are among the factors which have tended to produce this increase. The supposition that B.A.E. estimates do not include all of the 426,000 partially employed, together with the possible under-count on migratory laborers (who would obviously be difficult to

reach through the post office facilities and certainly not by mail carriers) and the Negro and white cotton workers, substantiates to some extent the estimate that the total supply approximates 4,000,000 wage laborers.

2. Over half of these farm laborers were located in the four southeastern farming areas—Middle Eastern, Eastern Cotton, Delta Cotton, and Western Cotton. Florida is not included in figuring this percentage. Nearly 30 percent are in Corn, Eastern dairy, and Western dairy.

3. In November 1937, unemployment in total numbers, in percentage of all laborers in the United States, and in percentage of laborers in the various farming areas, was high in the southeast portion of the country, which represents the Cotton Belt. With slightly over half of all laborers, more than 62 percent of all the unemployed were reported in this general region.

The rate of unemployment was greatest in the Small Grain section, since in this single crop area during November there is relatively little farm work to be done. Then, too, this is an area which has been greatly affected by mechanization, as well as by drought.

The next highest area of unemployment was the Delta Cotton area, followed closely by Western cotton, with the Eastern and Middle Eastern areas not far behind. While the general decline in the price of cotton and acreage restrictions have been major factors in this situation, recent progress in the mechanization of cotton culture has played an important role. It is a commonly accepted fact that this advance has been most rapid in the Western Cotton and Delta areas.¹³

¹⁰ Estimates of employment are given to the nearest thousand by B.A.E. The numbers as reported by the National Employment Census are given to the nearest thousand.

¹¹ Eldon E. Shaw and John A. Hopkins, "Trends in Employment in Agriculture 1909-36," Report No. A-8 W.P.A. *National Research Project* (Nov. 1938) p. 153.

¹² Mr. Josiah Folsom of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life Studies of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics expressed the opinion orally to the writer that it is likely that 4,000,000 wage laborers are employed on American farms at the peak of the season.

¹³ Paul S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt, 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, March and April 1938; C. Horace Hamilton, "Social Effects of Mechanization of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, March, 1939.

4. The rate of unemployment for Florida and California in November of 1937 was relatively low, in spite of the fact that both States contain large numbers of wage laborers. In fact, 57 percent of California's agricultural workers in 1930 were wage earners. Moreover, in California, November is a month of relatively small demand for hired laborers, since less than half as many workers are usually needed as for October.¹⁴ Such a marked decline in demand for October to November would be expected to cause considerable unemployment. Since the migratory laborer is numerically important in both these States, the only plausible explanation seems to be that there was probably an "under-enumeration" in the unemployment registration.

5. The rates of employment on emergency work vary significantly among the types of farming areas. The percentages of emergency workers in the "unemployed" group are shown in Table 2; In the Small Grain area this proportion is the highest, with Corn next, followed by Middle Eastern, Western Dairy, and Western Cotton in order. Eastern Cotton with a relatively large number of unemployed workers, had next to the smaller proportion engaged in emergency work in November 1937. The Corn area with next to the lowest rate of unemployment, reported the highest percentage of its unemployed on emergency work. The irregular percentages may reflect differences in local administration of work programs and the varying financial capac-

ities of local political units to provide the sponsor's share involved in Federal programs. The total load of unemployment is heaviest in the South where the ability to support the work programs from local funds would be relatively less.

CONCLUSION

This paper presents an analysis of unemployment among farm wage workers based on data from the 1937 Census of Unemployment and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates of employment of hired workers.

The supply of agricultural wage workers in November 1937, as obtained by adding the unemployed reported by the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics estimates of employment, totaled approximately 3,212,000 persons. Adjustment by 30 percent for under-registration gives a figure of 3,439,500. There is reason to believe, however, that the total may be low and that the available supply would be higher, perhaps approximating 4,000,000 workers during periods of peak agricultural activity.

Approximately three-quarters of a million wage workers registered as totally unemployed or on emergency work in November of 1937. The adjusted figure is just under a million (943,000). Computed on the conservative estimate of a total supply of slightly less than three and one-half million wage workers, this number constitutes about one-fourth of all laborers. There were, in addition, 426,000 workers reported on the same date as "partly employed."

The unemployment rate was higher than the average for the United States in the Small Grain, Middle Eastern, and the Cotton farming areas, while the lowest rates were in California and Florida, Corn

¹⁴ California State Relief Administration, *Survey of Agricultural Labor Requirements in California, 1935*, also reported in *Migration of Workers*, preliminary report of the Secretary of Labor pursuant to Senate Resolution 298 (74th Congress) U. S. Dept. of Labor, 1938, p. 87. Comparable figures for Florida were not available to the writer.

and Dairy areas. The rates in the Range and Northwestern areas were slightly lower than for the country as a whole.

Emergency work opportunities appar-

ently were irregularly distributed by regions, with some tendency towards higher percentages being on work projects in areas of least unemployment.

BOHEMIA: THE UNDERWORLD OF ART¹

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BOHEMIA, meaning "the home of the good," was the name, originally, of a Balkan state whose members were scattered about Europe following the Hussite Wars (1419-1431). Because of these wanderers, bohemian became synonymous with *gypsy* and *beggar*. It was in the latter sense that Scott used the word in *Quentin Durward*,² so it is probable that Balzac, when he introduced the term in his *Prince of Bohemia*,³ intended it as an epithet to be translated as: "The vagrant students of the Latin Quarter." However, the word was promptly adopted as filling a need. Murger confirmed the usage in his *Scenes de la Vie de Bohème* and in its new connotation the word quickly became part of the vocabularies of Europe and America. Its success and permanence indicate that the group thus described was sufficiently unique and important to require a title, and that its relationship with other groups was so ambiguous as to prevent its inheriting or borrowing a name.

There was in fact a new group. It was

a coalition of several types of individualists following the fortuitous formation of a highly favorable psychical, social, and economic milieu on the part of the artists. The pleasure-seeking type found a new province of anonymity and unconventionality. Dissenting liberals and romantics discovered an asylum and headquarters; and this asylum was shared by psychopaths who saw in bohemia a camouflage for their eccentricities. The esthetic group desired intimacy with creative activities; for here, of necessity, were the artists who had established this mode of life, together with the dealers, the poverty-stricken, and the purveyors who were indigenous. Finally, there were "the professional bohemians" and the curiosity seekers, who for one reason or another flocked to this environment with which they had no true affinity, and to whose make-up they contributed little. Altogether, this particular combination of atmosphere, philosophy and types was decidedly unique.

But it was more than a social group: bohemia itself is an ideal and a legend. It is a literary tradition, a dreamland El Dorado of Youth, an intellectual pose of the artistic lamb, a philosophy composed of one part idealism, one part eccentricity and one part *opera bouffé* heroics. It was explored by Henri Murger, Du Maurier and Balzac; yet it is

¹ Conclusions drawn in this article are the result of the study of several hundred cases.

² Chapter VI "How! of no country?" repeated the Scot. "No," answered the Bohemian, "of none. I am a zingaro, a Bohemian, an Egyptian or whatever the Europeans in their different languages choose to call our people. But I have no home."

³ Honore de Balzac, *Un Prince de Bohème* (1840).

searched for by thousands annually—by the youthful, the credulous, and the naive. To them it is a paradise. They make their pilgrimage in reverential awe, with fastings, magnifications and ceremonies. They never discover bohemia, but sometimes they create it.

✓ In age, the immature form the largest contingent of bohemians. For one thing, ✓ the individualistic attitude comes naturally to youth. Again, idealism and romanticism, irresponsibility, love of adventure, and the novel, physical resiliency and mental receptivity powerfully motivate the young rebels. Conversely the ✓ passing of these adolescent traits automatically removes the mature.

Much that is typical of bohemia may be laid to youthful irresponsibility: the tales of Murgeria are an index of childish pranks. The charm of this world is the tang of promise and vigor and high ideals: the sunny realm of adolescence. Here people taste life and do not find it bitter. The golden loves, the floating beauty, the gallant dreams of men were never sung by the realists, the middle-aged and the old; ✓ and that is why the mature man leaves bohemia. He will publish his Swan Song at twenty, his biography at thirty, and his treatise at forty-five.

The predominant element determining the nature of the bohemian legend is ✓ individualism. With the advent of the industrial revolution the artist lost the patronage of the aristocracy and was forced to sell his wares on the open market. He became a merchant with something to sell, and in this financial competition there was a value set on uniqueness: ✓ Individuality, therefore became a requisite of art, and individualism an artistic trait.

Twin brother of individualism, liberalism grew at large as individualism grew in art; both romantic in appeal, they were destined to make their home together.

The spirit of rebellion flowered in the French Revolution, and its contagion was felt in other nations. There was revolt both in arms and in spirit.⁴ "The romantic movement headed by Delacroix was part of a world-wide revolt of youth against official tyranny in government and art. The French Romantics drew their fire from many sources: from Scott, Byron, Constable and Bonington; from Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven and Goya. They were not bohemians, they were men with a program—. But most of them and three in particular—Byron, Goya and Delacroix—were spectacular figures whose weaknesses were of the sort which inferior minds seize upon as the criteria of artistic behavior."⁵

Bohemianism, the practice of individualism, combined so naturally with the artist's mode of life that they were destined to appear together. The artist had learned to work without proportionate reward, to dispense with most of the necessities and institutions; he faced the loss of social class and ties, and made an honor of the antagonism, or worse, the indifference, of an uncomprehending public; in short, he could live in squalor and maintain his self-respect. The artist had demonstrated a practical method of surviving though *déclassée* and the individualists hastened to profit by his example. Therefore bohemia, though originating in answer to specific needs of the individualists, took over entirely the incidents of the artist's life and made them its own practices. The sole change made in these institutions was a gradual concession ✓ of the fact that they were no longer circumstantial but traditional, which manifested itself in a growing emphasis

⁴ *Vide.* John M. Murray, *Countries of the Mind*, p. 118.

⁵ Thomas Craven, "Bohemians of Paris," *Harpers*, Feb. 1933, p. 342.

on the theatrical, the romantically effective aspects. The presence in bohemia of such trumpery as Little Tea Shoppes, interminable debates, and rowdyism has puzzled commentators who failed to realize that these traits were borrowed directly from the true artist's life where they were a natural and unpretentious development. From their error is derived the conclusion that bohemianism is quite as purposeless as its own institutions, supposing one to originate in the other. As has been pointed out, however, bohemianism is a genuine and widespread mood; and the traits it borrowed and distorted were nevertheless a very definite need if bohemia were to exist in fact.

The feminine bohemian is in some degree a reaction and overflow from the professions, since bohemianism is in part inculcated as a manner of life by the growth of woman's self reliance and economic freedom. Psychopathic disabilities account for the presence of a number. The exploitation of bohemia as a "pleasure center" provides a large contingent of hangers-on; with these may be grouped the matrimonially inclined who frame themselves in this romantic background. Few women, however, are permanent inhabitants of bohemia: the life is less kind to them than to men. Few, for that matter, care to burn their bridges to a final picturesque degree. On the contrary, the women are more likely to be filling with plans the impractical dream world of the men. They do not forget that "many women have as much difficulty getting back into the home as her sister of a decade ago experienced in breaking away."⁶

As a group, bohemia is geographically, temperamentally, and economically heter-

ogeneous—unlike other city groups. Inevitably there are established numerous geographical, temperamental, and economic levels, and a caste system results. Though the divisions of caste in bohemia are determined by the factors mentioned, the rank in the various divisions is a result of artistic prestige and liberalism. The highest places are occupied by those who have achieved a success marked by maximum publicity, and who look with favor on bohemia. These individuals are ordinarily true creative artists flattered to be chosen the patrons and defenders of bohemia.⁷ They are, of course, bohemia's argument to the world. "You admire this man: he is one of us: tolerate us, and we will produce more like him. You may even treat us with the respect due our coming honor." Among those who have paid their sentimental respects to bohemia are such outstanding producers as Edna St. Vincent Millay, Floyd Dell, Lincoln Steffens, Franklin Booth, and so on.

In addition to the glamor of the free, dreamy interludes of bohemian life as popularly conceived, bohemia is a necessity to certain types. It is the asylum of the starved egoist. For the opportunist it appears to be the most direct road to intimacy with the brilliant and creative and even the most ordinary occasions combine the cultured atmosphere with the unconventional. All extremes meet in bohemia: no level of society, race, religion, politics or thought is barred. In contradiction to society, a premium is put upon individualism, physical or psychological; freaks and psychopathic cases are held in esteem for no other reason than their infirmities.

An individualist is one who does not,

⁶ Nancy Evans, "Goodbye Bohemia," *Scribner's*, June, 1930, p. 643.

⁷ Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, pp. 87-88.

perhaps cannot, satisfy the requirements of a particular group: he differs from the established and expected norm of behavior or opinion. If this hinders free social intercourse in the comparatively strict groups of society, it is no hindrance at all in a group which possesses no accepted norm and makes no demands. Just such a group, unconventional in the most narrow sense, is formed by the union of the individualists themselves. Although an individualist group may seem a paradox, it must be remembered that the individualist is not necessarily nongregarious, and by participation in a noncritical group he increases his own freedom of variation. Hence such a group is not only possible, it is probable—circumstances permitting.

The basic circumstance is the presence of a "parent group," because an individualist group whose members are responsible to no one, whose purpose is to defend that irresponsibility, and which has no other common purpose, can have no organic life of its own. Disorganization cannot be a principle of organization. Lacking the means of spontaneous articulation, then, the individualists can become a group only by selective accretion to a nonindividualistic one already in existence, which thus becomes the parent group.

In order for such an accretion to occur the parent group must possess three qualities: it must be large and nonexclusive, because small groups can discriminate against their members, while a set of membership requirements would prevent any great number of individualists (who have few qualities in common) from entering any one parent group; it must be unable to impose responsibility upon its members, since the ability to discipline the individual would at once exclude the individualists; finally it must foster an

active social life, as it is only by social contact that accretion can occur, when the individualist plays no active part in the parent group.

These qualities are particularly exemplified in the artist group, which has come to be the most popular of hosts; but they may appear in any of several groups. Further, the characteristics which have remained constant in the history of bohemia, the parasite of the artist group, are the characteristics which may be predicted of any individualist group—we may therefore say that any individualist group is a bohemia.⁸

Because there are no common qualities except individualism, the members are mutually tolerant in the sense of disinterestedness. There is a freemasonry based on similar needs and the prestige of the host. They do not derive from any particular race, nationality or culture, or economic or social level, although because of the emphasis placed on individuality, these particulars are used as distinguishing qualities and so give rise to ethos worship. Finally, the manner of its origin makes bohemia urban, cosmopolitan, and transient.

Aside from the defense of the group, the cornerstone of individualistic philosophy is the right of the individual to develop emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually as he sees fit.

The individualist premises this right upon the incommensurability of the soul: the inherent fallacy of allying concrete standards with an ineffable and delicate quality. With this principle he attacks the practice of society of arriving at corporate behavior by endorsing group thoughts and types: a process he dispar-

⁸ All individualists do not join groups; therefore, all individualists are not bohemians. Consequently, there is no single "bohemian personality" or "bohemian type"—there are many distinct personalities.

ages as "standardization." As it happens, the individualist is not a victim of standardization himself—conformity is precisely what he is incapable of. In any case his behavior will be atypical. But he objects to being the only one out of step: every instance of standardization is for him an instance of exclusion; and his solution of the predicament is for everyone to be out of step.

Hence the tenets of individualistic philosophy are determined least by their value in a rational program of behavior, and most by their possibilities as propaganda, i.e., it is dogma.

The dogma consists of a collection of attitudes and doctrines which further the kind of society in which the individualist can best exist. The social habits developed by the bohemians to fit their own needs are necessarily at variance with those of society. The result is a tension amounting to opposition, and the brunt of this opposition is carried by the social institutions because it is through these ordinarily that public opinion becomes coercive. As the disciplinary method varies from one institution to another so also does the reception in bohemia. For instance, no attitude can circumvent the direct and inescapable force of the law. On the other hand, the merely suggestive guidance of art and education, imposing no restriction upon behavior, provokes little response to them as institutions. But the Church, the State, the community and the family are met with a psychological resistance in the form of nonconformist dogma. Because these institutions are powerful and omnipresent, the reaction to them is profound. It is not a case of academic dissent, but of individual welfare: the most anonymous of individualists must feel and fight their pressure. Therefore, bohemian dogma is aimed particularly at these institutions, criticizing them

on the one hand, and on the other replacing in Murgeria, those that are indispensable with forms in which they are unable to foster discipline.

In short, the bohemian aims at a practical anarchy. He finds that social opinion is manifested chiefly in institutions, where it is inescapable inasmuch as the function of the institutions is indispensable. But social opinion, though closely associated with the functions, is not strictly necessary for the efficacy save that it assures the permanency of the institutions providing them. It is possible as the act of a small minority to divorce the functions from social control, provided the public weal is assured by an adherence to social discipline on the part of a responsible majority. Thus the individualist finds that in a law abiding group a furtive anarchism is feasible. He believes that he has set up a novel improvement on the social mechanism, that he has demonstrated the practicability of individualism as a form of society. As a matter of fact he has merely nullified for himself the necessity of accepting responsibilities upon whose recognition by others, however, he continues to rely for his privileges. The sum effect is to set up within the group an equivalent social mechanism duplicating the orthodox institutions, but without their authority.

The chief quality of this social life is its unconventionality—its lack of discipline. The chief quality of its members is individualism—opposition to discipline. It is plain that the popularity of bohemia is based upon an objection to discipline and its implications: conventions, standards, and values. But why is this objection so strong and so lasting that it can create a whole group? How can it be so universal that it takes its members from every rank of every nation, yet so particular that it leaves the vast majority

either untouched or prejudiced against it? We believe the answer to these questions may be found in the concept of the defective personality.

A personality defect may be no more than lack of initiative or a physical infirmity; it may be psychopathic. Regardless of degree or permanency, if such a defect is a hindrance to free, gregarious social intercourse, the person concerned may be said to have a defective personality. Assuming all people desire to lead a gregarious life, it follows that individualism originates in a personality defect; i.e., individualism is the rationalization of the impossibility of social conformity. The attraction of bohemia, then, is the attraction of a social life for those to whom it is denied in groups of more definite mores and demands. It is the guild of the crippled spirit.

Given this theory of bohemianism, we are in a position to make the following definitions:

Bohemianism is a form of social life which occurs when large, nonexclusive groups provide frequent social intercourse without having the power to enforce social discipline, standards or values.

A Bohemian is one whose need, (because of a personality defect), of the unhampered social life thus provided accounts for his presence in the group providing it.

Esthetic Bohemianism is such a life provided particularly by the artist group. (This is usually considered bohemianism per se, but since bohemianism could occur in any of several groups, we classify it as a historical phase.)

That each bohemia takes its institutions, interests, viewpoints, and vocabulary from its parent group does not require argument. But it happens, under present urban conditions, that a given bohemia is frequently fostered by several groups simultaneously: it may include

esthetes, radicals, and hobos, each with its parent group. The contacts thus provided suggest an explanation of the chaotic dogmas of Murgeria: the institutions of one bohemia tend to become the institutions of every bohemia; but no one group maintains all the institutions or traditions. This situation could only occur in a group having an organic life of its own: it is additional evidence that bohemia is a parasitic social group.

The ideal bohemian, if there were one, would show many definitely psychopathic traits: melancholia, satyriasis, claustrophobia, hyperesthesia, apathy, dyspepsia, and chronic alcoholism. Such are the leading characteristics of the traditional idols of Bohemia: Goethe, Byron, Shelley, Coleridge, Wilde, Verlaine, Baudelaire, and the decadents on, down to Van Vechten, Bodenheimer, Hecht, and O'Neill. Much as the babbling of the village idiot is regarded by the illiterate as divinely inspired, so the incontestable work of genius or talent is traced directly, in bohemia, to such symptoms of psychological infirmity as we have listed. It is the final phase of Rousseau's romanticism—the theory of a "natural man": unhampered, original, spontaneous, as he was in the Garden of Eden and as he is in Kirkbride.

In addition to this uncritical sympathy, the casual, anonymous social life makes bohemia an attractive asylum for the psychopath. Many are accordingly found there who are definitely deranged or perverted, although hitherto so harmless as not to draw the attention of the authorities.

Next to the sex group, the most common derangement in bohemia is megalomania: delusions of grandeur. It has been suggested that all arts rest on this disease; that the writer cannot write or the artist paint without believing that he can do

it much better than anyone else. In any case, classic instances of this phenomena are not hard to find in bohemia.

Although Bohemia and Liberalism exist separately, each having a structural integrity and purpose, they have sufficient qualities in common to form an overlapping area inhabited by the bohemian liberal. The members are drawn from both groups, and the common qualities of bohemianism and liberalism which created this area are, inevitably, its dominant characteristics. Chief of these characteristics is the challenge to conventional social forms; both the individualist and the resurgent element find common cause in the fight against the *status quo*. Both redeem the extreme character of this position, which logically implies an idealization of barbarism, by professing an advanced humanitarianism. Both renounce pomp and circumstance. Neither accepts either the logical consequences or the responsibility of his position. Generally they fall in the same economic and social level.

Nevertheless, the liberal bohemian differs according to his source. Perhaps there is no pure representative of any group, but the sum of values and attitudes in any one instance will usually serve to distinguish in degree the bohemian turned liberal from liberal turned bohemian.

What they have in common is the mood of revolt, of disruption; they wish, quite simply to rebuild their lives—and the world—a little closer to the heart's desire. But they do not continue to a common conclusion. The liberal lives in a realistic world whose values are strictly objective, and the changes he proposes are based on facts and realities. The bohemian on the other hand, lives in an unreal world built of subjective values and individualized concepts: his revolt is correspondingly abstract, amounting to no more than an

imponderable change of emphasis in his ideology. Briefly, the distinction is between the rebellion of extroverts and that of introverts. Thus Plato, in such a mood, writes a Republic; Lycurgus, in a similar mood, founds one.

The contrast is naturally most evident in the field of politics, quite often in the labor movements. Here the practical liberal shades gently from the suave parliamentarian to the dynamic agitator. Equally the romantic liberal declines from the social-reform worker to the sentimental sympathizer.

For the romantic bohemian the radical movement is a ready made background. It supplies him with a dramatic *raison d'être*. Hence, much bohemian art takes its flavor from politics, especially as the liberals are not blind to the value of building up a representative culture and propaganda. The "Cultural Front" of the leftist groups provides an appreciative public and therefore is inviting to the bohemians. In many cases this hack writing of propaganda is as near as they are likely to come to artistic success, and the dissemination of political principles is a small price to pay for an audience. Moreover, the subject allows of unlimited posturing and self-dramatization, at the same time imparting in its importance as a subject a fictitious dignity to the particular artistic effort. This is the general tone of the "Cultural Front," perpetrated in the traditional bohemian manner under cover of a few genuine creative liberals such as Barbusse, Rolland, Gorky, Rivera, Odets, Kirkland, Caldwell, etc.

Besides the bohemian who makes an attempt at creative activity, those who are merely in attendance are often drawn by the left wing movements to combine their esthetic interests with political ones. The function of the typical public in this

case is to support this aspect of the liberal program by attendance and money.

The genuine liberal appears in bohemia for various reasons. In the first place, he seeks converts—among acquaintances, naturally, and because of the contacts of the two groups, bohemia is likely to include a large number of his acquaintances. Secondly, he enters bohemia as part of his social survey: it is his principle that a group must be inspected before it can be judged. Thirdly, he realizes the potentiality of bohemian talent in the production of propaganda. Even when they do not join the movement a permanent bias may be given to their views which will cumulatively contribute to the prestige of the leftists. In toto, the liberal seeks from bohemia whatever it can contribute to the success of the movement.

The Pleasure Seeker is a universal type: he is at the same time a dominant type in bohemia and by his multitudinous presence has given a definite turn to the life and habits of the region. He is attracted by the anonymity and moral freedom which flavor his indiscretions. His indulgences usually involve women, because this type of pleasure seeking requires the most social atmosphere. The other vices are either condoned in home surroundings or are not safe even in bohemia, so the pleasure seeker usually appears here in a sexually predatory role. In order to maintain the social round on which he depends, the pleasure seeker provides the economic backing for various enterprises. He either "throws" his own parties, or has his friends do so, provides meals, tickets, liquor and other conveniences, and in addition purchases productions of art, backs movements and organizations, or loans money directly. Over a period of time the pleasure seeker usurps the whole bohemian district: to meet the demands of his presence rents

rise, cafes flourish at steep rates, shops catering to a well-to-do clientele displace the local enterprises, and eventually the group becomes composed chiefly of pleasure seekers who pursue within their circle the whole purpose of their presence with very small dependence on the bohemian element. The latter are replaced with "names": successful illustrators, writers, playwrights, professors, etc. The studio gives way to the salon; the easel is replaced by the bed. Finally, bohemia moves to new quarters; the pleasure seeker once more makes his appearance and the whole process is repeated.

The fact that most bohemias are in geographic, economic, and social contact with other groups and levels of society insures a constant stream of transients. As the "Back-door of the Arts," professional and esthetic contacts perhaps predominate. There are also those who look for diversion, license, and anonymity. These are the sponsors and financial supporters of "studio parties." In this group especially are the various circles of perversion: the marihuana, homosexual, hard drinking, or sex obsessed rings. Other transients are found in the clique of disciples surrounding each artist or writer of any consequence; in the husband-hunting girls who use all social occasions such as are abundantly supplied by bohemia; in the "professional bohemians" who live on their glamour as ex-soldiers live on their wounds; in the students, merchants, landlords who make up the background of bohemia. Not the least of the occasionals are the tea-shoppe, book-shoppe, art-shoppe, and studio-apartment speculators who cater less to the inhabitants than to the visitors.⁹

⁹ *Vide, Latin Quarterly*, September 1933, p. 1 for interesting advertisements, e.g. Albert Strunsky's (Bohemia's Landlord) "Cute Cubicles for Creative

Bohemia provides a tolerant social life for those whose personality defects have excluded them from the social groups. But there are other groups who also find bohemia a social haven: not, however, because they suffer from personality defects but because their contacts with the permanent groups of society are temporary, haphazard, or unsatisfactory for any reason. The easy entrée to bohemia is sure to be used to advantage by these, and it often becomes a doorway to more rigid, responsible groups.

Foreigners and immigrants make the fullest use of this entrée, accounting for much of the "International House" flavor of bohemia. It is also used by people whose birth, economic level, or means of livelihood do not give them contact with groups whose cultural level they have come to value by hearsay or inherent taste. Often, too, the interest in the superior group is not entirely idealistic: the social climber and those who prey upon the monied classes are to be found in this type.

For these people, bohemia is not a necessity; they could never create it, as do the true bohemians, out of their own psychological needs, and they rarely remain when they have once been admitted to more stable groups. We therefore classify them as *occasional bohemians*, always recognizing, however, that their presence is not a meaningless geographical accident but a definite functioning of the social mechanism.

The transient bohemians as a rule add little more than numbers to the group. They make no special contributions and merely use bohemia as a convenience. On the other hand, the number in which

they are present places considerable emphasis on these conveniences and to a certain extent obscures the reasons for existence of the remainder. Frequently, also, it is the transient who secures publicity for the group, by reason of the status he or she has in the more stable groups of society. So far as our analysis is concerned, they are types which it is important only to identify and dispose of in order to bring into their true degree of importance the other types which generate and determine the nature of bohemianism.

So long as society produces individuals whose social life it cannot accommodate, so long will there be bohemians and with them bohemia; with bohemia its converts, intruders, and imitators. What social change may dry this source is a contingency beyond our scope—the potential effects on the social structure and its unit, the individual, by the sociologist, the psychoanalyst and the alienist, with their arts of diverting personality into the narrow path, would seem to be the most promising factors here; but their cumulative result is unpredictable even by themselves and will not serve a general speculation on the future. Meanwhile, until a possibility of change in this direction is proven, one cannot reasonably assume the passing of bohemianism.

The force which disrupts bohemia is its own excessive popularity. The size of the group is necessarily limited and numerical increase is fatal to its solidarity, because overdevelopment is accompanied by a breakdown into many exclusive and antagonistic groups; while the formation of a broad zone of semibohebianism obscures the old prestige and depreciates morale by destroying the hard distinction between bohemian and nonbohemian. Again, with overcrowding there is a rise in rents and a dissipation of conveniences,

Workers. Balconied Boudoirs for the Denizens of the Latin Quarter. See me if you want to live like struggling artists."

a reversal of the very conditions in which the group has its origin. The sum effect is decentralization through increase in numbers. The most dangerous aspect is the decentralization of the interrelated artist group.

The decentralization of the artist group, carried to completion, is necessarily fatal to esthetic bohemianism. To lose oneself in a crowd one must have a crowd. If the artists no longer form one, the journalists or radicals may not prove as capacious, and a transition from the esthetic to some other form of bohemianism may therefore be expected. But as it happens the decentralization of the artists is not completed and probably never will be. Many of them hesitate to forego the business advantage of being on the ground; this fact alone assures an art district. Again, no matter where the artist personally chooses to live, his profession must always center about certain fixed points: for example the schools, the publishers, or the galleries. Finally, by virtue of their interests, the artists tend to gather at such institutions as the concert or the theatre, and social groups are fostered by these occasions. Decentralization is nevertheless in progress; if the bohemians are not precisely pushed to the wall they have at least felt the pressure to the extent of executing in part the transition we considered probable under such circumstances: they have begun to seek new patrons.

The labor movement appears to be the chief of the prospective hosts. It is true that liberals have long been associated with bohemia because of the sanctuary to be found there; it is also true that the Marxists and Murgerites being, respectively, objective and subjective critics of the present order, hold parallel views on the necessity and nature of social revaluations: for example, the denial of religion. In fact, this historic association has helped

to make the class struggle a bohemian dogma. But at no time have the two merged.

The labor movement is an explicit, continuous cumulative and directed effort: precisely the opposite of bohemianism. The essential contradiction lies in the fact that the class struggle, though fertile of individuals is not an individualistic movement. It correctly describes itself as a conscious mass movement; it is not only social, it is social in that impersonal sense we ascribe to the State. The labor movement, therefore, cannot but be completely incompatible with bohemian individualism. Its association is due to linkage through individuals, not to congeniality. The individuals generated by the movement, may and frequently do, reside in bohemia; they may be, and frequently are, individualists; but they cannot carry individualism into the movement.

In short the relationship of the individualist to the class struggle is identical with his relationship to art: parasitic. Since we have called the latter type the esthetic bohemian, we may call the former the liberal bohemian. Moreover, since humanitarian economics represents an attitude toward life equivalent in scope to that of art, we see no reason why the change from the esthetic to liberal bohemianism may not be a true transition implying a distinct change in form without a loss of essential qualities.

Our definition of bohemianism, required as a condition of its presence a large group affording frequent social contacts without having the power to enforce discipline over them. This was true of the artist group; it is even more true of the labor movement, which must work through individual contacts whose organizational routine is carried on by the group in frequent conference. More, it has been a policy to extend the patronage of the

group to whatever social activities are compatible in the belief that by providing a complete social life for the members in the name of the movement, the movement will become an integral portion of their lives. This principle is not novel; it had been used for centuries by the Church. But the discipline achieved by the Church is replaced in the movement by a general indifference where the welfare of the movement is not concerned—certainly an ingratiating attitude, and a dangerous one. The intent, of course, is to produce an apparent consistency between their conventions and their attitude of social criticism. It is not intended to extend this slovenly life to genuine activities; here the group has the definite advantage, (of being completely self-aware) over the artists on similar occasions. As organizations, the liberal parties know precisely what is required of their members to insure success, and they can set up and justify standards. Unfortunately they cannot extend these standards to the private lives of their members. As with the artists, it is precisely where bohemianism occurs that the liberal parties are powerless.

The greatest change which can occur to bohemia is a transition from one phase to another, i.e. it is the greatest change which can occur without destroying the essential qualities of bohemianism. Because the labor movement is rapidly becoming a more favorable host than the artist group we believe that a transition from esthetic to liberal bohemianism is imminent. It remains to be considered what lesser changes are probable. Since changes less than transition must happen in the present phase; and since any disturbance of the essential qualities of bohemianism must result in a transition to a less disturbed phase, we may limit the

subject at once to variations in the surface phenomena of esthetic bohemianism.

The most potent source of surface change has been the reevaluations of bohemia and society which became necessary as various aspects of bohemianism were adopted by the public. For instance, it is no longer possible to describe the group as the vanguard of modernism, because the revolution of thought and manner so described is already firmly established with the public at large, at least in the urban groups. The popular mind has become fully as aware of and receptive to innovation as is bohemia itself. The new knowledge, the new thought, is common property; Freud and free-verse, Ibsen and cubism, Joyce and the Ballet Mechanique have begun to date even in the hinterland of Philistia. It is no longer certain that the culturally sensitive person must die of asphyxiation in the middle-class atmosphere. The erstwhile coldly conservative public could scarcely take more to heart the twin pleas for tolerance and unconventionality. Bohemia still promises a new freedom of morals, but one wonders what remains from which to be freed? As the first wave of modernism, bohemia has disappeared in the tide.

The glamor of bohemia has also been revalued downward. The artist himself has ceased to be a legendary figure: the line of Byron and Degas and the other great romantics has not survived a century of training in objectivity and our exaltation of the paths of science. The laboratory is found to be quite as fascinating as the studio, and the asceticism of an Arrowsmith replaces the romance of Rudolph and Mimi. Even the practice of art is nearer to the people—from the grammar school on, frequent opportunity is given to those who feel the creative urge, and acquaintance thus secured with

the arts makes for a more sincere respect but weakens the romantic prestige they formerly enjoyed. On the whole, the increase in literacy and opportunity and the emphasis placed upon science struck a powerful blow at bohemia by diminishing the glory reflected upon it by the arts.

Finally, there have been internal re-evaluations. The desirability of being a bohemian is not described in the former terms, for these have changed inexorably. The "professional advantages" lessen as opportunities multiply with the development of markets; and as orthodox approaches are formulated by the impersonal but efficient agencies, "contact" and "inside pull" become less essential. The sale of fiction, for instance, is not necessarily facilitated by a "made in Greenwich" label; and a drinking bout with the editors appears to be less of an indispensable preliminary to submitting the manuscript. Paintings and sculpture, though sent from darkest Minnesota, are accepted for exhibition without discrimination because of their origin, and receive due attention. Attendance upon teachers and academies does require an urban residence, it is true, but these sources become less and less tributary to bohemia as the schools increase in authority and discipline. Especially is this the case since universities and colleges have entered this field of education and demonstrated their tested method of control and direction. The wild-cat studio, beloved of the rebels, suffers serious competition from art centers run as community enterprises. The abler men are drained off by the spread of professional clubs and unions, who in turn slowly impose standards upon their unorganized colleagues. This is bohemia's loss in terms of sanctioned irresponsibility.

It will be noticed that the tenor of these re-evaluations is loss of influence.

In some instances the public has overtaken the parade; in other ones it refuses to be interested. It seems inevitable that this should happen as the public judges bohemia over a long period of experience, and it is possible that we have here the inherent flaw that will account for the passing of any phase of bohemianism, other things being equal. That is, if a parasitic group such as bohemia exists by virtue of pretense, it can exist only so long as the pretense is still effective.

The present depression has vitally influenced bohemia by upsetting its economic relationship with the balance of society. Bohemianism itself has remained unchanged, but the conditions governing the existence of the group have had numerous reversals. The first effect, when the demand for art production declined, was for the successful artist to draw on the less profitable customers, hitherto left to the newcomers, in an effort to enlarge a dwindling clientele. The newcomers and mediocre artists were therefore forced out of the game between this high quality competition and the decreasing market. The broad band between artists and bohemians was soon thinned out as the mediocre artists and talented bohemians turned to more certain sources of income. The gap thus left was filled in, however, by the successful artists themselves, who were being forced down rapidly to the financial level and expedients traditional to bohemia. But in general this did not lead to a commingling of the group such as had occurred hitherto. The formerly successful artists did not have the habit of bohemianism and retained as far as possible the high qualities of behavior to which they were accustomed. In their new straightened circumstances there was less social activity among the artists, and fewer occasions, therefore, for contact with

bohemian. Meanwhile, the advent of Federal Assistance, providing work for artists, unexpectedly furnished a criterion for the bohemian art output. An authentic record of genuine activity or study was required of the bohemian and some were able to supply such credentials. As a result, many bohemians were put to work, besides artists of recognized ability. A number of bohemians so placed under actual productive discipline have made good. With the latter there has been an increase of morale which has virtually lifted them out of the bohemian group. In proportion, those who have been unable to qualify for such work have lost caste even among their brethren; many of them have given up their former haunts in Murgeria. The sum effect of these cross-currents has been to produce a less erratic atmosphere; there is more actual work, more regular hours, more discipline, and less social life.

There is also more definite organization; of late this group has formed such leagues as the Artists' Union, the New Theater, the Theater of Action, The Degeyer Club, and other art circles, all more or less interrelated and politically conscious. These groups now foster regular schools wherein drama, art and music are coordinated with political philosophy and taught at proletarian prices.

Such are the main trends of bohemian change; we will make no further predictions. As to the inclusive question, What will become of Bohemia? we can only repeat that while there are individuals whom society cannot accommodate in its regular groups, there will always be a bohemia, whether in Paris or Towertown or Taos, whether in the name of art or in the name of socialism, or in the name of anything that will permit of a free, gregarious life for those to whom it would otherwise be denied.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Southern Sociological Society will hold its fifth annual meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 5-6, 1940, with headquarters at the Andrew Johnson Hotel. The program as tentatively planned will include the following sections: Social Research, Public Welfare, Teaching of Sociology, Race and Culture, Population and Regional Studies, Social Effects of Federal Activity Programs in the South.

Officers of the Society for 1939-40 are: Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University, President; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, First Vice-President; Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College, Second Vice-President; B. O. Williams, Clemson College, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Executive Committee includes, in addition to the present officers of the Society, the following past presidents: E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University; Wilson Gee, University of Virginia; Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina; E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama; and the following elected members: R. F. Bellamy, Florida State College for Women; Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University; Hornell Hart, Duke University; Walter K. Reckless, Vanderbilt University; Comer M. Woodward, Emory University; Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Institute.

Committee chairmen for the coming year are: Membership—Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women; Publications—Dorothy Dickens, Mississippi State College; Research—Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Public Welfare Relations—Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College; Teaching of Sociology, Wayland J. Hayes; Relations to National Society—E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University; Resolutions—Arthur F. Raper, Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Local Arrangements—William E. Cole, University of Tennessee.

During 1938-39, the membership of the Society reached 210, while the current year already shows a membership of 235.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

COOPERATIVE RURAL RESEARCH

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HISTORICAL

ALTHOUGH formal cooperation in rural sociological research in the United States may be said to have developed during the last 20 years, apparently some degree of cooperation has occurred from the very beginning of systematic research in this field. The early monographic studies of J. M. Williams,¹ Warren H. Wilson,² and N. L. Sims³ were detailed studies of small local areas. They were conducted by the authors, in person, with a minimum of financial and technical resources. Yet these studies were made by graduate students under the general supervision of Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University. Informal cooperation in all these studies is therefore indicated. Similarly, some cooperative effort characterized the studies made before 1920 by C. J. Galpin,⁴ George Von

Tungeln,⁵ and Thompson and Warber.⁶ In his account⁷ of how *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community* was achieved, Dr. Galpin emphasizes his cooperative relationship with H. C. Taylor and H. L. Russel. Von Tungeln states that his monograph was the outgrowth of cooperation between the Iowa State College of Agriculture and the people of Orange Township, Blackhawk County, and he cites the members of the local advisory committee, together with others who gave special assistance. In the case of the survey of a rural township in southern Minnesota, Thompson stresses the fact that the good will and cooperation of the local people were essential to the success achieved.

Still more definite cooperative procedure characterized the survey of southern Travis County, Texas,⁸ made by Haney

¹ J. M. Williams, *An American Town: A Sociological Study*. Waterville, N. Y.: R. W. Williams, 1906.

² Warren H. Wilson, *Quaker Hill: A Sociological Study*. Doctor's Dissertation, Columbia University, 1907.

³ N. L. Sims, *The Hoosier Village*. New York: Longmans, Green Co., 1912.

⁴ C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*. Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 34, 1915.

⁵ George A. Von Tungeln, *A Rural Social Survey of Orange Township, Blackhawk County, Iowa*. Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin No. 184, 1918.

⁶ C. W. Thompson and G. P. Warber. *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota*. University of Minnesota Studies in Economics, No. 1, 1913.

⁷ C. J. Galpin, "The Story of My Drift into Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology*, 2 (3), pp. 299-304.

⁸ L. H. Haney and G. S. Wehrwein, *A Social and*

and Wehrwein in 1915. Professor Haney conceived the study and gave general supervision. The Agricultural Extension Service contributed the services of Mr. Wehrwein who managed the field work, utilized a statistics class to tabulate the data, and wrote most of the report. The members of the Texas Applied Economics Club did the field work and wrote a portion of the report. Finally, several citizens of Austin contributed the service of their personally owned automobiles to facilitate the field work.

The rural church surveys, conducted by Warren H. Wilson in 1910 and subsequently, were cooperative in the sense that certain persons and institutions located in or near the local areas surveyed contributed in time and money to do the field work. A field director working under Wilson supervised the collection of data and local people helped facilitate the process. The later church studies conducted by the Institute of Social and Religious Research pursued similar methods with the added condition that the work was supported by cooperating committees from the Federal Council of Churches and the Home Missions Council.

This early period of rural sociological research was characterized, therefore, by small pioneer surveys of local areas. Extensive resources were unnecessary, and although cooperation occurred, individual effort was the key to success. Cooperation tended to be informal and occurred mostly between research and nonresearch agencies.

It was after the establishment of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture that cooperation among rural socio-

logical research agencies began. With a limited budget, Dr. C. J. Galpin, in charge of the Division, felt that he could stimulate rural social research and extend the usefulness of his funds by subsidizing worthy projects planned by rural sociologists in the various states. Accordingly, with six projects in as many States, he began in 1920 a plan of cooperative research which carried from 3 to 12 projects annually until 1931, after which the number decreased for lack of funds. During that time, a cooperative relationship was maintained for one or more years with 32 separate institutions, mostly State Colleges of Agriculture. During the years 1923 to 1928 inclusive, the average number of projects carried under this plan was 10; and in the course of the entire period, the Division cooperated with the New York State College of Agriculture in the conduct of 10 projects and with the Wisconsin State College of Agriculture in the conduct of 11 projects.

The essential terms of cooperation were simple. If it was deemed advisable to cooperate, after discussion of the project and the general plan of procedure, a project agreement was drawn. This agreement, which was usually established for one year, outlined the project and its general methodology, named a State Leader, named Dr. Galpin as Federal Leader, and obligated the cooperating agencies to supply approximately equal resources (personnel, facilities, money) for the conduct of the project. In order to facilitate the work, the State Leader of the project was made an appointee of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, without salary, and permitted to use penalty envelopes. The State agency, usually the State College of Agriculture, did the work and, after the manuscript was approved by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, published it with a statement

Economic Survey of Southern Travis County. University of Texas, Bulletin, 1916, No. 65.

of the cooperative relationship. The Federal Government reserved the right to use this material, thereafter, in any way that might be desired, and the co-operating State agency agreed to supply published copies of the study up to 500 in number. The plan was very productive of results and is still in use, notably in connection with the annual estimates of farm population.

The passage of the Purnell Act by the Federal Congress in 1925 ushered in a new era for rural sociologists. This Act provided, for the first time, funds that might be used for research in agricultural economics and rural sociology and thereby gave great impetus to the development of rural social research. Fully aware of the significance of their position, rural sociologists instituted a series of research meetings, known as the "Purnell Conferences." The first of these meetings was held at Purdue University in the spring of 1927 and lasted three days. Among the accomplishments were a clarification of concepts, a more standard terminology, and a recognition of certain fundamental projects with which all should be concerned. In all, four of these conferences were held, the last occurring at Philadelphia in 1933 in conjunction with the meetings of the American Sociological Society. These conferences were highly successful in the sense that, through group thinking, research workers in rural sociology moved far toward a consensus with respect to the scope and method of their subject.

With the onset of the economic depression and the drought seasons of 1933-34, a relief emergency arose in the rural areas. The F.E.R.A. found it necessary to obtain accurate field data regarding rural relief needs to serve as a basis for allocating Federal funds to the respective States. Urban data might be collected easily but rural data were both difficult

and expensive to obtain. Furthermore, it was desirable to have expert interpretation of the local conditions represented by survey data. Since the State Colleges of Agriculture were obviously in position both to collect accurate data and interpret local conditions, the F.E.R.A. obtained the assistance of rural sociologists located at these colleges and through the operation of C.W.A. collected much information regarding the rural relief situation. This preliminary relationship was further developed and standardized in terms of a cooperative agreement dated August 15, 1934. This Plan for Cooperative Rural Research provided that rural sociologists, or agricultural economists, located in the respective institutions might be appointed State Supervisors of Rural Research and, in addition to their regular institutional programs, supervise the collection of official data for the F.E.R.A. In order to compensate for this service, and in order to stimulate research pertinent to the field of rural social welfare, the F.E.R.A. agreed to provide the State Supervisor with a competent assistant. This Assistant Supervisor was subject to call when his services were required by the F.E.R.A., but at other times the agreement provided that he should undertake special research under the direction of the State Supervisor. It was required that these special projects receive the approval of the F.E.R.A. and the State E.R.A. The states were given the right of publication subject to the approval of Federal authorities.⁹

The major results of this cooperative plan of rural research are summarized in a recent publication.¹⁰ From the Federal

⁹ Federal Emergency Relief Administration, *A Plan for Cooperative Rural Research*. Washington, August 15, 1934.

¹⁰ S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Others, *A Plan for Cooperative Rural Research*. Works Progress Administration, Series II, No. 17, Washington, 1938, pp. 3-4.

point of view, it provided "a local agency for fact-gathering on a Nation-wide basis with a staff alive to local situations and peculiarities." This local knowledge was of particular value in setting up a system of about 300 sample counties upon which the relief censuses were based. Also, the decentralization of supervision thus effected reduced the size of the research staff necessary in Washington. From the point of view of the States concerned, the cooperative plan gave new impetus to rural social research by providing funds at a time when local resources were at a low ebb. Staffs were increased, a few States hitherto doing nothing in this field became interested, the work of the Agricultural Experiment Stations was more closely related to the problems of rural public welfare, and promising students with an interest in social research were given training to fill the many jobs of this type which suddenly became available.

From the standpoint of published works, the plan was notably productive. By the end of the year, 1938, a total of 10 Federal monographs based wholly or in part upon cooperative data had been published and more were in preparation. In addition, four special reports and 31 minor research bulletins have been published by Federal authorities. In the cooperating States, more than 200 research publications have been issued. These have been roughly classified as follows:¹¹ (1) rural problems generally related to relief, such as tenancy, mobility, part-time farming, rehabilitation, and standard of living—37 bulletins; (2) local data collected for national relief census—58 bulletins; (3) local relief problems—31 bulletins; (4) nonrelief rural problems—83 bulletins.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

A more intricate aspect of this cooperative procedure in the conduct of rural sociological research may be illustrated from the study of rural population mobility, the results of which appeared recently as a research monograph of the Works Progress Administration.¹² The schedule for this project, together with instructions for the use of same, was constructed by the writer and Conrad Taeuber, in 1934, while they were employed in the Washington Office of the F.E.R.A. The project was offered to the States as a satisfactory one to be conducted under the cooperative plan of rural social research, the finances to be drawn from State E.R.A. funds. In the course of the next two years, eight States made use of the project. As collected, the schedules were sent by these States to a central point where they were tabulated by uniform methods under the supervision of the writer. Punch cards were made in duplicate and each State cooperating was supplied not only with a set of standard tables based upon the data from that State, but also the duplicate set of cards so that additional tables might be run if circumstances permitted. The cooperating States were then free to issue publications as desired. On the other hand, the Federal Government was in possession of all the essential data from all of the cooperating States and was in position to publish summary results based upon all States. The financing of the central tabulating unit and the subsequent work of preparing the manuscript was contributed partly by the Works Progress Administration and partly by the Resettlement Administration. The manuscript summarizing the results of

¹² C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Research, Research Monograph XIX, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1939, pp. 192.

nearly 22,000 schedules plus other pertinent data was prepared by the writer, functioning as a State Supervisor of Rural Research under the cooperative agreement between the Ohio State College of Agriculture and the Works Progress Administration, and by Conrad Taeuber as a member of the staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Thus, the cooperation on this project included three Federal agencies and eight States, involving in each the State College of Agriculture and the State Relief Administration. The results will eventually include one Federal and several State publications.

By no means all of the cooperative activities in rural sociological research have been described above, but certainly some of the more important ones have been included. Perhaps enough has been said to make it clear that the most significant cooperation for purposes of rural social research is that which has occurred between certain units of the Federal Government and the various research institutions of the respective States, notably the State Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations. The extent and nature of this cooperation is usually set forth in some form of agreement. Responsibility is most often financial (taking the form of subsidy or joint support), but it may extend to division of labor in the collection of data, in the tabulation and analysis of data, and in the preparation of manuscript.

TYPES OF COOPERATIVE RESEARCH

From a conceptual point of view, the simplest type of cooperation with respect to research is cooperation in the initiation and development of research ideas. In its simplest form, such cooperation consists of informal discussion for the purpose of defining a problem, clarifying concepts,

listing the data required, outlining the procedures involved in obtaining and handling the necessary data, etc. Perhaps less often such discussion includes methods of tabulating, summarizing, and analyzing data, and methods of studying the interrelationships of various factors. No joint responsibility is assumed for the subsequent conduct of any project, and no one is bound by the findings or conclusions of the discussion. Usually, no check or summary is made to determine whether there is agreement upon basic ideas. Indeed, following such discussions, some members are frequently surprised at the subsequent research behavior of other members.

In a more advanced form of this type of cooperation, the procedure is more formal and the level of a research conference is attained. Here, project statements, schedules, and tabulation forms are exchanged and the merits and demerits of each are discussed. The philosophy of research with respect to the problem is rather thoroughly explored. Consensus with respect to fundamentals is a goal to be achieved, and resulting differences are likely to be minor differences of method. No supervision is provided for, and no further cooperative responsibility is assumed by any party to the conference. Quality and comparability of results depend upon the morale and consensus of the group and the competence of its individual members.

This type of cooperation provides the greatest freedom and the least cooperative responsibility on the part of the persons involved, but it produces least comparability of results and greatest variation in the quality of the product. In the rural field, this type of cooperation is typified by the annual convention of sociologists where informal discussion of research projects occurs and also by the

conference of Purnell research workers referred to above. The Purnell conference accomplished much in the direction of generating group morale, developing group consensus with respect to fundamentals, and providing a wider outlook regarding the possibilities and methodology of significant projects. It could not widen the scope of the numerous too limited individual projects, however, and it failed to bring to research procedure that rigid standardization which is essential for comparability of results.

The second major type of cooperation in research may be thought of as cooperation for the purpose of facilitating individual research. This amounts to some division of responsibility for the stimulation, promotion, and conduct of research. A simple and exceedingly common form of this type consists of cooperation with respect to resources for the conduct of research. For example, one party, commonly a nonresearch agency, provides financial support for the study of a problem that has been agreed upon, the research procedure being left entirely to the second party. The problems of this form of cooperation are relatively simple. The financial agency must be satisfied that the grantee is a competent research person or agency in the field in question, and the research agency must make certain that the funds granted are adequate for the purpose and that the procedure of obtaining same is reasonable. Illustrations of this form of cooperation are easy to find. Most grants in aid to research institutions from endowed research councils and foundations come under this head. So, also, do industrial subsidies granted to universities and the grants in aid to State rural sociologists that were made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life under Dr. Galpin.

A less common form of this type of co-

operative research occurs when two or more research agencies interested in closely related aspects of a given problem agree to attack it simultaneously. In this case there is no necessary cooperation with respect to resources, but rather cooperation in the selection of a problem in which there are either common elements or some cumulative advantage to be obtained by illuminating various related aspects of the subject. The cooperative study of the socio-economic aspects of family living may be cited as a case in point. Economists, home economists, and sociologists may occasionally find it fruitful to cooperate on this problem. The same sample may be used, providing for a more comprehensive view of the interrelations of family factors than either agency could provide alone. The total volume of data collected can be reduced somewhat through cooperative effort because much data will be of interest to all three groups. The food budget will interest the home economist from the standpoint of nutrition; the economist from the standpoint of costs; and the sociologist from the standpoint of its relation to other budgetary categories. A specific instance may be cited: During the years 1927-28, a study of farm family living by means of the account book method was made in Ohio. The cooperating units were Rural Sociology, Home Economics, and the Agricultural Extension Service. The services of the Extension specialist in home management and the county Extension agents were enlisted to locate the cooperating families. The keeping of the necessary records was supervised by the home management specialist. Records were kept in duplicate in a specially designed account book, the original being mailed monthly to the Experiment Station. The duplicate record was kept by the family for its own use

and for the purpose of Extension teaching. At the Experiment Station, the nutrition specialist analyzed the quantities of food consumed for dietary adequacy, the home economist studied the prices and cost of living, and the sociologist analyzed the relation of budgetary categories and their relation to income and social status. Several bulletins^{12a} based upon these data were published, yet each research group followed its own methods and worked independently as far as research procedure was concerned.

The cooperative study of Iowa farm children initiated some years ago by Bird T. Baldwin illustrates how this method of cooperation may be used to study a subject of a comprehensive nature. A large number of college departments and State agencies focused their attention upon certain rural communities and made a careful analysis, not only of the conditions under which farm children lived, but also of the physical and mental development of the children themselves. Each research unit did its individual work, following a general plan, and submitted special reports. From these, a special staff abstracted and prepared a general summary report.¹³

Another variation of this type occurs when each cooperating research agency agrees to supply a service which is more or less indispensable to the other. There are numerous variations. The Federal Government may supply to the States needed finances for local projects in return

for the collection and local interpretation of data needed for national purposes. Such is the plan of cooperation between the States and the Works Progress Administration. Or, as in the case of the farm population estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the States may collect the field data, determining the method of procedure employed, and interpret the resulting body of data; the final editing of the schedules and the tabulation of the data, however, are left entirely to the Federal Government which supplies the cooperating States with copies of the finished tables, and uses the results to study the best means of obtaining an adequate sample of farm population change.

Although cooperation in this type of research may extend to resources, to the problem studied, and even to the use of common data, research procedure is non-cooperative. The philosophy underlying this organization of research appears to be that the proper way to do research is to find a good man, provide him with the means, and permit him to attack the problem in his own way. Indeed, some people believe this to be the only really successful research procedure.

The third type of cooperation with respect to research occurs when there is actual cooperation in research procedure. Here, regardless of the origin of the research ideas and regardless of the relation of the research agencies with respect to resources, the end product of research is not the result of procedure individually initiated and directed, but represents a truly cooperative product. This type of cooperation is perhaps more difficult to achieve than the first two types because it requires more complete cooperation—a degree of ability to work with others that must be tried to be appreciated. Cooperation may occur in any or all of the formal steps in research procedure. That is to say, co-

^{12a} H. McKay and M. A. Brown, *Foods Used by Rural Families in Ohio During a Three-year Period*. Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 492, 1931. H. McKay, *Food Consumption of Farm Families*. Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 433, 1929. C. E. Lively, *Family Living Expenditures on Ohio Farms*. Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 468, 1930.

¹³ B. T. Baldwin and Others, *Farm Children*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930.

operation may occur in the planning of the scope and method of research, in the collection of the data, in the tabulation and analysis of data, and in the preparation of the research report. Whether different agencies or different units of the same agency are involved, the problems are similar. They are primarily problems of sympathetic understanding, of division of labor, and of integration of results.

In planning the scope and method of this type of cooperative research project, the well-known methods of group thinking may be employed to advantage. Such procedure, to be effective, must assume that the cooperating group is composed of intellectual equals who possess a reasonable degree of *rapprochement* with respect to the problem under consideration. Under these conditions, divisions of labor may be employed with some confidence. The work of reviewing literature, checking available data, and sources of data may be assigned. The group can come to agreement on point of view, definitions, scope and limitation of the project, and methods of attack.

With respect to the collection of research data, two general types of problem are likely to be encountered. In the first place, if the problem for research is of the sort that can be broken into subdivisions in which different sorts of data are used, each subdivision may be assigned to a different personnel and a considerable degree of individuality may be permitted within each subdivision.¹⁴ The chief problems encountered are likely to be that of maintaining in the various subdivisions the point of view of the project and also that of coordinating the results obtained by the various subunits so as to obtain a balanced and unified final report.

¹⁴ A good example of this type of research is afforded by the work of the Hoover Social Trends Committee.

Free communication between units is essential to avoid duplication and other waste. Such communication should also include frequent conferences or circulated statements of pertinent findings for purposes of stimulating the entire staff and for providing clues which may be followed by units.

In the second place, if the problem for research is of the sort that requires the collection of several units of similar data,¹⁵ the problem of comparability easily overshadows all others. Great care must be exercised in defining the units of measurement, in constructing and testing the schedules, in formulating instructions for enumerators, and in selecting the samples to be used for study. Group thinking can be used to advantage in exploring the ramifications of the problem, in setting the units of measurement, and in sample selection. Once these matters have been determined by cooperative measures, the project passes into the stage of administrative action, and control must be centralized for best results. If administration is in the hands of more than one person, not only should the closest intercommunication be maintained, but all administrative rulings should be immediately reduced to writing. Under no circumstances should memory be trusted to serve as a record of changes in cooperative research procedure.

With respect to the tabulation and analysis of data, it should also be emphasized that the methodology employed may be arrived at by cooperative procedure, but once it is determined, the administration of tabulation must be rigidly uniform if satisfactory results are to be obtained. Data should always be tabulated with maximum consideration for comparability with various types of related data repre-

¹⁵ As in the case where several geographic samples are taken.

senting the special interests of the co-operators. Only in this manner can the varied interests of the co-operators be satisfied. Such tabulation can be achieved, however, only by genuine co-operation in arriving at the tabulation forms to be used. For example, the greatest care should be exercised by co-operators to see that the tables used for statistical data represent the breakdowns most satisfactory to all concerned.

In the matter of the preparation of the research report, there are excellent opportunities for cooperative effort. Perhaps the most common procedure is to subdivide the work on the basis of interest and capability and then to proceed to produce a series of individual manuscripts with the hope that they will fit together to form a unified report. Such procedure may stimulate good individual work, but there may be little harmony of results. Differences in degree of detail, in point of view, and in ability to write are likely to produce unexpected difficulties. In such cases, it may be best to turn the individual contributions over to an editorial agent who will weld them into a harmonious whole. Unfortunately, it may be both difficult and expensive to obtain an editorial agent who knows the material and is also able to build a unified report without doing violence to the work of the individual contributors.

Where the number of co-operators is small, the necessity of an impartial editorial agent may be obviated by the frequent exchange among the co-operators of samples of the findings and writings of each. By such means the final editorial task may be limited to the more general considerations of unity, balance, and clarity. Where the number of co-operators is large, it may be advisable to name an editorial committee representing the various cooperating interests. This com-

mittee should plan the general outline of the report, showing all of the essentials of the finished product. This includes points of view, problems to be considered, data to be used, relationships to be explored, etc. Portions of the outline may then be let to different co-operators for preparation. These co-operators prepare rough drafts and submit them for circulation and criticism. After criticism, second drafts are prepared by the specialists who know the data, and after further criticism and changes, the editorial committee proceeds to coordinate the various parts and improve the style and form of expression. This method provides for the highest degree of cooperative effort. The final research report, produced in this way, is not merely a compilation; it represents a genuine synthesis in which the work of individual contributors is fused to form a harmonious whole.¹⁶

APPRAISAL

A thorough attempt to appraise cooperative sociological research in the rural field can scarcely be attempted at this time. A few pertinent remarks bearing upon the need for such research, its accomplishments and difficulties may be hazarded, however.

With respect to need, it may be urged that it is becoming increasingly clear that there is a definite place for cooperative rural research. Formerly, when little scientific knowledge of rural social conditions had been accumulated, the individual research worker could study a small number of cases of some rural social phenomenon and thereby make a con-

¹⁶ A good illustration is the recent book, *Democracy in Transition*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1937). In its production by a group of social scientists at Ohio State University, the committee method was used. In many of its chapters the recognition of individual contributions is impossible.

tribution to knowledge. With the growth of knowledge, the small sample has come to be of less significance in rural social research, except as an exploratory technique. Furthermore, the current tendency to recognize regional factors in rural social problems is conducive to greater emphasis upon regional rural social research, and it appears likely that the near future will bring a greater degree of cooperation among States with a common problem interest than has prevailed heretofore.

It must not be supposed that any high degree of direct cooperation in research is likely to occur among the State Experiment Stations, however. The most significant cooperative relationship has been and undoubtedly will continue to be that maintained between the research agencies of the Federal Government and the various State Colleges and Experiment Stations. Through this relationship the Federal Government is in a position to interest the respective States in the study of problems of both a regional and national nature and to obtain sufficient standardization of results for comparability.

The implication that significant research will be accomplished only through the cooperation of the agencies of Federal and State Government is not intended. Significant results have been obtained through the cooperative effort of Federal and private agencies, through the cooperative effort of State and local agencies, and also between private agencies. No doubt this will continue to be so.

Cooperation between State Experiment Stations and the Federal Government may be used to illustrate certain difficulties which commonly confront cooperating research agencies. The fact that the Federal agency is likely to be superior in both financial resources and personnel often makes it difficult to maintain a genuinely

cooperative relationship. If the advantages are too heavily concentrated in the hands of one party, there is little to be gained by cooperation. The project is initiated, planned, and put into operation by the superior party, the assistance of the inferior party upon some more or less perfunctory item being asked as a gesture of cooperation. For purposes of mutually beneficial cooperation, it is best that the parties concerned be somewhere near equal in skill and resources, or that each possess some essential resource not possessed by the other. Also, when research is dominated by powerful government agencies, it may easily develop into mere administrative fact-finding, ignoring the deeper implications of research. To avoid such difficulties, care should be exercised to insure that the cooperative project is developed according to democratic procedures. Barring that, it is perhaps best to follow some procedure similar to that of the Works Progress Administration whereby the weaker party is compensated for service by providing him with additional resources to do his own research. In this manner individual research is promoted and both parties are benefited.

The continuity of responsible personnel is a minor point that should be stressed in connection with cooperative research. The shifting of responsible personnel always endangers the success of a research project. In cooperative research, the danger is perhaps less serious when cooperation occurs with respect to division of labor at the same research level. This may be illustrated by the cooperative collection of different units of similar field data. Here difficulties arising from shifts in personnel can be reduced to a minimum by eliminating the material affected. On the other hand, if cooperation involves a vertical rather than a lateral relationship, as when one agency collects the data

and another tabulates and analyzes it, the lack of continuity of personnel may be serious indeed. Lack of familiarity with the procedures from beginning to end may result in tabulation and conclusions that are wholly unwarranted by virtue of what has gone before.

The difficulties that may arise out of shifting personnel will serve to stress the necessity of a high degree of objectivity in the administration of cooperative research. Unless all decisions involving changes in procedure or interpretation of data are recorded and copies of the same supplied to all cooperators, confusion is bound to result. This is a technique to which most persons experienced only in individual research are not accustomed. It is essential if cooperative research is to supply results that are superior to individual effort.

In conclusion, it may be stated that past

cooperative effort has been directed mainly along the lines of facilitating individual research. Perhaps this will continue to be the case. There appears to be no adequate substitute for the individual effort of a trained and resourceful person with financial means at his command. On the other hand, there appears to be increasing need and increasing opportunity for research in which there is cooperation in investigative procedure. This is a more advanced stage of cooperation than cooperation to facilitate individual research and success is perhaps more difficult to obtain. By cooperative means, however, it is sometimes possible to widen the scope of a project and, therefore, to obtain results of wider application. Also, it is sometimes possible through cooperation to obtain a more thorough and complete exploitation of research materials than is likely to be the case where only the individual approach is employed.

DISTINCTIVE CULTURES IN THE SOUTHEAST: THEIR POSSIBILITIES FOR REGIONAL RESEARCH*

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THE first task of realistic regional research is the discovery and description of the broadest "norms," economic and social, of regional life. The frame of reference so created makes possible the interpretation of specific observations according to sociological reality. But one may question whether the search for the general and typical does not after a while defeat its own ends, whether indeed a new unreality does not lie ahead for the scholar who persists in

seeing only the universal aspects of particular cases and only the regional profile of material matters.

The Southeast is prolific of distinctive cultures, yet the most inclusive listing of sociological studies devoted to them affords only a page or so of bibliography. Since the fictional reports of Captain John Smith to his European backers, literally hundreds of casual travelers, earnest reformers, and serious novelists have devoted themselves to describing the unusual items of southern regional life. Their reports, good or bad, have been devoured by readers of every sort, and all

* Read before the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, in Atlanta, Georgia, March 31, 1939.

too frequently the baldest misinformation has been swallowed by intelligent men who had no other sources of knowledge on the subject.

There are abundant reasons why the sociologists of the Southeast should concern themselves with the study of culture groups that represent the extraordinary range of adjustment to the southern region. The scholar will find his knowledge and understanding of the regional society greatly improved by such inquiries. The intelligent public may be delivered from some of the more gratuitous misinterpretations. Research methods and techniques will inevitably be tested and improved. An almost endless supply of untouched enclaves is at hand, and popular support of a regional inventory of distinctive culture should not be at all difficult to enlist.

II

The goals of research in this field can be stated briefly. They are: (1) to record and interpret the essential qualities of groups who differ from assumed regional "norms" of cultural development; (2) to estimate the *qualitative* effects of such groups upon the general population of the region; (3) to estimate the *quantitative* importance of such groups in the regional population.

These purposes need no further definition. If we can find out what and where our distinctive groups are, what are their genuine distinctions, what are the probabilities of survival for them, how and how much they modify the regional "strain towards uniformity," how far by sheer numbers they upset the assumption of regional homogeneity, we shall have accomplished a real addition to the field of regional study. One might venture to say that studies which ignore any of the goals listed are in serious danger of

mere quaintness or, worse, of hiding the realities of regional life under piles of irrelevant *minutiae*. Much admirable and scholarly labor has been so wasted since man's interest in "folk lore" first began.

III

Opportunities for the study of distinctive folk cultures may be classified variously. Guy B. Johnson,¹ in a paper read to the Southern Committee of the Social Science Research Council in March, 1938, suggested the following ethnical grouping: (1) isolated and retarded groups of "old American" stock of British extraction; (2) mixed-blood groups, mulatto or Indian-Negro-white; (3) homogeneous groups with strong survivals of non-British cultures.

To this list we might well add the isolated or insulated groups of Negro stock which occur in various subregions of the Southeast. Further, we might supplement the ethnic approach by classifying groups according to their variations of institutional development or of material circumstance, as: (1) groups clustered around atypical *economic* arrangements or situations; (2) groups focused on unique *religious* organization; (3) groups whose cultural distinctiveness may be attributed to their being economic *derelicts*; (4) groups whose cultures are strongly influenced by special *geographic* factors; (5) groups whose distinctive *traditions* as such hold them apart from the general regional culture pattern.

It should be emphasized that these are not alternative methods of classification, but rather that any full view of the field would need a detailed cross-classification of enclaves, and that various refinements

¹ "Race and Ethnic Factors and Trends," paper read before the subcommittee on "The Historical Study of Population," Southern Committee, Social Science Research Council, New Orleans, March 10-12, 1938.

might be based on the actual observation of linguistic and other cultural details.

When one undertakes to make a list of distinctive groups the task soon becomes too great. Such a list, indeed, would comprise a project in field research of no little importance and difficulty, and would almost certainly remain incomplete. To take stock in terms of Johnson's ethnic groupings, then, is merely to offer a random sample.

Among the "Old American" groups we find the folk of the Carolina sand hills, the isolated white men of the islands and keys of the lower Southeast, the "river rats" who dwell on the surfaces of a score of southern rivers, the cultural enclaves within the greater swamps, the insulated vestiges of "piney woods" settlement, "clan" groups who, although they are disappearing rapidly, might still give us important material, the "protestant blondes" who have been discovered living within but apart from Latin-Catholic Louisiana, and a variety of others. Some of these on closer inspection may turn out to be inadequate for study, but on the other hand, some may appear unexpectedly vigorous.

There are, according to Johnson,² some thirty counties in the Southeast which list "Indian" population. Of them some are nearly pure stock, some, like the Croatans, are mixed-blood groups. Mississippi has a considerably greater Indian population than Texas, but what do we know of her Choctaws? What of the adjustment of the North Carolina Cherokees to the new world around them?³ What can be said of cultural survivals related to the Chickahominy and the

Pamunky in Virginia? What of the Seminoles of Florida? There are obstacles to answering such questions, but the sociologist can make at least partial answers if he will.

The mixed-blood Croatans of North Carolina have been described well, but there remains much to be said of them. The "Brass Ankles" around Camden in South Carolina, the South Atlantic "Red-necks," the so-called "Cajans" Professor Bond⁴ has found north of Mobile in Alabama, the mulattoes whom Lyle Saxon describes in *Children of Strangers*,—these represent only some of the cultural products of crossbreeding in the region.

Among the non-British stocks who have created their own cultural horizons in the Southeast the most notable, of course, are the French "Cajuns" of Louisiana.⁵ But there are also the Czechs of Slavia and Masaryktown in Florida, the Creeks at Tarpon Springs in that State,⁶ the unique Latin city of Tampa, the variegated community of south-European fishermen at Biloxi in Mississippi,⁷ the Ukrainian miners at Brookside on the outskirts of Birmingham, the Dutch around Castle Hayne, the Ukrainians at St. Helena, the surviving items of German settlement in both the Carolinas, the scattering of various Latin and Latin-American groups along the whole Gulf Coast. Nor does

⁴ H. M. Bond, "Two Racial Islands in Alabama," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI, 552-567 (January 1931).

⁵ T. Lynn Smith and Vernon Parenton, "Acculturation Among the Louisiana French," *American Journal of Sociology* (November 1938).

⁶ Two studies exist concerning these communities: H. J. Laney, *Slavia: A Culture Pocket in Florida*, M. A. thesis (unpublished), University of Florida, 1937; G. W. Lovejoy, *The Greeks of Tarpon Springs*, M. A. thesis (unpublished), University of Florida, 1938.

⁷ Christopher Longest, (title unavailable) M. A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1933, deals with the Biloxi enclave.

² Letter to the writer, January 31, 1939.

³ The volume *Social Anthropology of the North American Tribes*, edited by Frederick Eggan, has a chapter by Professor Gilbert on the changing culture of the Cherokees.

this list begin to exhaust the classification; nearly every southern scholar can make valid additions to it.

As for isolated or insulated Negro enclaves, the list may be made as long or as short as one wills. Gee's Bend, in Wilcox county, Alabama, where the Petway name is universal, is not the only group of its sort. In Lowndes county, whether one chooses Alabama or Mississippi, there are long-insulated Negro populations. In Mississippi the work of John B. Sale⁸ and of Niles Puckett⁹ has already demonstrated to scholars the fertility of the Lowndes enclave. The Alabama county appears, to the casual traveler, to have its people who live almost entirely apart, and it is hard to assume that the "Black Belt" offers no other cases of isolation. Up and down the Delta of the Mississippi River are numerous separate communities of Negro blood, ranging from Professor Parenton's Negro-French village¹⁰ to farming clusters in the north-Mississippi Delta. Liberty county, Georgia, affords a nearly independent Negro culture, and of course the Sea Islanders,¹¹ studied nearly a decade ago by a group of sociologists and anthropologists, remain a classical group.

If the basis of classification were shifted, our listing might be extended greatly. "Dead" and half-dead communities abound, and seem to withdraw from cultural norms as they die. There are southern religious folk who live (in Florida) at the center of a flat, rectangular earth; there are others who maintain

startling variants from normal southern protestantism, whose religious quality may be the clue to definite cultural distinctiveness. The intensity of tradition in parts of lower South Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi is sufficient to be an index of cultural variety. "Utopian" ventures in South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Mississippi, would repay the investigator intent on finding out how leadership can affect cultural qualities. However, enough has been said to indicate the range and ubiquity of distinctive cultures in the Southeast. One cannot, from the library, pretend to make a complete survey.

IV

Something may be said concerning the available techniques of study and interpretation. The climactic process is, of course, the study and recording of the essentials of the distinctive culture pattern. To this end one should, ideally, employ the voice-recorder and the camera as well as more traditional means of representation. The small moving-picture camera, now economical to buy and to operate, ought to record ceremonies, celebrations, and the essential routines of life.

Above all, though, it seems desirable to have intensive case studies of the personality-products of the culture groups. Individuals upon whom the forces of the culture are focused will, if they are well enough understood, give the scholar more insight than any external techniques, whether statistical or pictorial, can possibly do. It is specifically insight of this sort which protects the investigator against the sterility or confusion of surface-quaintness and, therefore, gives his work intellectual quality. The impact of folkways and mores upon personality, and the profile of representative life his-

⁸ John B. Sale, *The Tree Named John*, University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

⁹ N. N. Puckett, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, University of North Carolina Press, 1926.

¹⁰ Vernon J. Parenton, "Some Population Characteristics of a Negro Village in the French Section of Louisiana," *Proceedings*, Louisiana Academy of Science, IV, No. 1 (November 15, 1938).

¹¹ Cf. Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, University of North Carolina Press, 1930.

tories, will do more to reveal the functional quality of social and economic adjustments than any other single approach.

But there is much necessary spadework involved in orienting the direct observation of the group. One may learn a great deal from the records and publications of State agencies, regarding the educational, agricultural, economic, and other aspects of the immediate area. The Federal Census can clarify many significant points relating to the population-status of the immediate area, particularly if the investigator will dig into the township-unit data that are available. The records of county agencies related to every kind of local activity are invaluable. Records made during the era of the AAA may turn out unexpected facts relating to the agriculture of the immediate area. The records of taxing agencies reveal much that is significant. Furthermore, "courthouse" sources are of first importance in tracing the backgrounds of the group. "Graveyard censuses" tell valid stories. In most parts of the Southeast one may uncover other documentary aids; sharply localized county or community histories, newspaper files, even files of correspondence, will fill in gaps which may not even be visible to the plain logician. Finally, hearsay is—if it is checked against hearsay and against tangible records—a fertile if not always reliable guide.

It appears that, if the sociological viewpoint is to be applied properly, the direct analysis of the culture group must be laid against a background rich in historical, social, and economic detail. Mere lists of words or of attitudes, of folkways or of artifacts, will always seem vacuous to the social scientist as well as to the intelligent layman. It follows, then, that this is no field of research for the tyro; it should not be regarded as a source of topics for be-

ginners, but rather as a severe test of the capacities of fully trained and intellectually alert scholars.

But can research of this sort stand the contemporary tests of "practicality" and of "importance"? The mature sociologist is busy at the task of giving his research both these characteristics, and one immediately anticipates objections based upon them. As for the first, there is a "practical" value to the directors of social policy in understanding the quality of folk culture. Without such knowledge no man or men can lead a people. An infinity of error can follow from trying to apply an overall, standardized procedure to a region which is not uniform. As for importance, the sheer numbers of folk who have been molded by distinctive cultural forces is great. If we include the folk of the southern mountains, so far unmentioned in this paper because it is important to emphasize that there are significant cultural-variants outside the mountains, the sheer mathematical total of distinctive "folk" at once mounts into something suspiciously like a "regional norm."

In point of fact, the major subregions of the Southeast can very well be looked upon from the standpoint of this discussion. David Cohn has shown in *God Shakes Creation* that the Delta is an enclave of sorts. Novelists like Marjorie Rawlings, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Paul Green, William Faulkner, T. S. Stribling, Stark Young, and a score of others have done as much for other subregions even when they have thought little about such an interpretation of their work. In the work of John Dollard¹² and of Hortense Powdermaker¹³ the psychological view

¹² John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, Yale University Press, 1937.

¹³ Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom*, The Viking Press, 1939.

has revealed the distinctive quality of a subregion as a cultural area. In the nature of the investigations of Lloyd Warner there will be evidence of the cultural profile of the Cane Hills. All about us are facts and observations which argue, indeed, that we ought not to restrict our definition of distinctive cul-

tures to the level of small, isolated variants, but may well after all take for consideration segments of the interior and relatively homogeneous areas of the subregions which altogether make up the various "Souths" of tradition and economics, and may reveal something essential about their workings.

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OF A. G. SÜNDBÄRG'S HYPOTHESES OF AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNITED STATES

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THE purpose of the present paper is to examine, in the light of data on certain aspects of the population of the United States, the various hypotheses concerning the proportion of population 15 to 49 years of age enumerated by A. G. Sundbärg before the *Institut Internationale de Statistique* nearly forty years ago.¹ Since that time the question has been practically ignored in the United States. In the course of a brief paper devoted primarily to the relationship of the age distribution of a population to its death rate, the following hypotheses about the age group 15-49 were stated:²

1. The population group 15-50 years of age constitutes one-half of the population in normal cases.
2. Emigration tends to reduce the proportion in this middle group.

¹ *Bulletin of the Institut Internationale de Statistique*, XII, 1900, pp. 90-95.

² These statements are presented in a somewhat more categorical form than the original remarks. Sundbärg's use of the expression 15-50 corresponds to the modern usage of 15-49.9, as may be inferred from references to the population group "50 and over."

3. Maritime commerce tends to reduce the proportion in the middle group.

4. Variations in the birth rate do not affect the constancy of the proportion.

5. Variations in the death rate do not affect the constancy of the proportion.

6. Neither pronounced population increase nor decrease influences the proportion in the 15-50 group.

7. Race does not affect the proportion.

8. Climate does not affect the proportion.

9. Civilization does not affect the proportion.

10. Immigration does not increase the 15-50 year group, provided there is a high marriage rate; but where the marriage rate remains low the 15-50 group in places of immigration will be above 50 per cent.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE

Examination of many units of the United States population might be made with profit in order to determine the truth of the first hypothesis, namely, that the middle age group constitutes one-half of the population. However, only a few comparisons will be given in detail.

1. For the total population of the country considered over the period 1850-1930, the lowest percentage 15-49 years of age was 49.5 in 1850, the highest 53.7 in 1910

(53.4 in 1930). Only in 1850 was the percentage below 50, and it was 50.0 per cent in 1860 and 1870 (Table I).

2. There is great similarity between the sexes in the percentages. The low point for males was 49.4 in 1870, with a high percentage of 54.0 in 1910. For females the low point was 49.2 in 1850, with a high of 53.8 per cent in 1930.

3. The percentages have been irregularly rising during the period for both sexes, although the range has been very small.

It would appear from Table I that the United States data in Sündbärg's paper

TABLE I
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 15-49 YEARS OF AGE, 1850-1930*

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	MALES	FEMALES
1930	53.4	53.1	53.8
1920	52.7	52.6	52.9
1910	53.7	54.0	53.4
1900	52.2	52.3	52.0
1890	51.6	51.8	51.5
1880	50.1	49.9	50.2
1870	50.0	49.4	50.5
1860	50.0	50.2	49.7
1850	49.5	49.8	49.2

* Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

were for 1880, since in only that year is there exact correspondence between Sündbärg's figure and the United States census data. As the decade of 1880 is left behind the discrepancy becomes large enough to indicate the approximate nature of the conclusion. Even in 1890 the United States figure showed more of a deviation than any country included in Sündbärg's table. To be sure, the United States since 1880 may not come within the range of a "normal" case, but such a defense would be inadequate because "normal" has been left undefined.

THE EFFECT OF EMIGRATION

The theory that emigration reduces the percentage of population 15-49 years of age can be studied for the United States by determining the percentage 15-49 years of age in States of which the smallest proportion of persons originally born within their borders were living there in 1930. Other measures of emigration would also be desirable, such as the percentage of emigration in the decade from 1920 to 1930, or between 1900 and 1930, but the total migration of living native white persons, regardless of the date of migration, is probably a satisfactory simple index for our purpose.

1. A total of ten States had less than 65 percent of the white persons born within their borders still in residence in 1930. The combined percentage of the population 15-49 years of age residing in these States in 1930 was 52.1 percent (Table II), compared with 53.4 percent for the total population of the country. Eleven States had more than eighty percent of the persons born within their borders still residing there in 1930. The combined percentage of the population 15-49 years of age residing in these States in 1930 was 54.5.

The hypothesis on this occasion is partially borne out. States of greatest emigration had 1.3 percent fewer people 15-49 years of age than was true of the total population and States with least emigration had 1.1 percent more people 15-49 years of age than was true of the total population. However, the three States revealing the greatest emigration had high percentages of population 15-49 years of age; and Nevada, which had lost almost half of the native white persons born there was surpassed by only three of the forty-eight States in percentage of population 15-49 years of age.

More important than these exceptional cases, however, is the fact that lack of

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE IN STATES HAVING RELATIVELY LARGE AND SMALL PERCENTAGES OF THE NATIVE WHITE POPULATION BORN WITHIN THEIR BORDERS STILL RESIDING THERE IN 1930*

AREA	PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE WHITE PERSONS BORN IN STATE AND STILL LIVING THERE IN 1930	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE, 1930
The United States.....	23.4	53.4
States having less than 65 per cent of the native white persons born within their borders still in residence in 1930.....	XX	52.1
Nevada.....	46.3	56.2
Wyoming.....	55.4	55.6
Arizona.....	59.6	53.9
Kansas.....	60.8	51.6
Colorado.....	61.4	52.4
Vermont.....	61.5	48.3
Montana.....	62.1	53.2
Iowa.....	62.4	51.0
Missouri.....	62.4	53.1
Arkansas.....	64.1	51.2
States having more than 80 per cent of the native white persons born within their borders still in residence in 1930.....	XX	54.5
California.....	91.3	56.5
North Carolina.....	85.8	49.9
New York.....	83.8	57.1
New Jersey.....	83.8	55.8
Florida.....	83.5	54.4
Texas.....	83.5	54.4
Louisiana.....	83.4	53.5
Michigan.....	83.1	54.7
Massachusetts.....	82.2	53.0
Pennsylvania.....	81.3	52.8
South Carolina.....	81.3	49.8

* Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

emigration is inseparably mixed with other factors in the various States. The

eleven States having least emigration, for example, include centers of immigration, many large cities, and other conditions which may affect the middle age group as much as does emigration. If those states having either large cities or large immigration are subtracted from the eleven States, only North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas remain, and the first two of these had less than fifty percent of their population in the middle group. Missouri in the other group also should be eliminated before comparing the adjusted groups. The result would give adjusted percentages of 51.6 for the States with large emigration and 52.3 for the States of small emigration. These percentages are too similar to offer much in support of the hypothesis.

THE EFFECT OF MARITIME COMMERCE

The hypothesis that maritime commerce tends to reduce the percentage of population 15-49 years of age can be studied for the United States by comparing States and groups of States which have a maritime situation with those of continental location.

1. Completely maritime groups of States, the Pacific and the Middle Atlantic, had 55.9 and 55.3 percent, respectively, of their population 15-49 years of age in 1930 (Table III). The percentage for the East North Central, West North Central, and Mountain States, all having completely continental locations, were 54.2, 52.2, and 52.2 percent respectively. The maritime States thus had a larger percentage in the middle group than the continental States.

2. When only the States with largest seaports are compared with those having no maritime commerce, the same general results appear. The seven maritime commerce States on the Atlantic coast (Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania,

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia) had 53.3 percent of their population 15-49 years of age in 1930. Four important gulf port States (Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas) had 53.6 percent; and the Pacific States had 55.9 percent of their population in the middle

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE
IN GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND IN STATES
WITH IMPORTANT SEAPORTS, 1930 AND 1920*

AREA	1930	1920
New England States.....	52.2	53.1
Middle Atlantic States.....	55.3	54.2
South Atlantic States.....	51.5	50.6
East North Central States.....	54.2	53.6
West North Central States.....	52.2	52.3
East South Central States.....	50.8	49.8
West South Central States.....	53.4	51.9
Mountain States.....	52.2	52.9
Pacific States.....	55.9	55.9
States Having Important Seaports	54.4	53.4
Massachusetts.....	53.0	54.1
New York.....	57.1	55.5
Pennsylvania.....	52.8	52.5
Delaware.....	52.7	53.0
Georgia.....	51.6	49.8
Maryland.....	53.6	53.7
Virginia.....	50.7	50.6
Alabama.....	51.4	49.4
Florida.....	54.4	52.6
Louisiana.....	53.5	52.4
Texas.....	54.4	52.9
California.....	56.5	56.5
Oregon.....	54.2	54.2
Washington.....	54.6	55.5

* Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

group. The States having no maritime commerce necessarily had a somewhat smaller average, because the percentage for the United States in 1930 was 53.4, slightly less than the figure for the large sea and gulf port states (54.4 percent).

3. In 1920 there again was a slightly larger percentage of persons 15-49 years

of age in the maritime groups of States than in the continental ones, and in the maritime States than in the entire United States (53.4 percent for the states with large ports and 52.7 percent for the entire population).

It is thus clear that Sündbärg's hypothesis is not supported. It is possible that the people in the families of maritime workers show the distribution suggested by Sündbärg, but this was not the way the hypothesis was stated, and, indeed, his conception of maritime seems to have involved whole nations rather than just their maritime parts.

THE EFFECT OF VARIATIONS IN THE BIRTH RATE

The hypothesis that variations in the birth rate do not affect the constancy of the proportion of the population 15-49 years of age may be tested for United States data by comparing the percentage 15-49 years of age in the separate States having highest and lowest birth rates. Table IV contains such comparisons for both 1920 and 1930. A more refined rate, the effective fertility rate (defined as the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women 15-44 years of age) may also be employed (Table V).

1. In 1930 the entire registration area had a birth rate of 18.9 per 1,000 population. The States having birth rates above 21 per thousand were nine in number, all but three being in the southeastern part of the country (New Mexico, North Dakota, and Utah being the exceptions). These nine States had 50.2 percent of their population 15-49 years of age. The highest percentage in any of these States was Mississippi, 51.2 percent, compared with 53.4 percent for the United States. In sharp contrast, the six States with birth rates below 17 per 1,000 were well above the United States figure for propor-

tion of population in the middle group (56.0 percent), the lowest percentage being in Oregon, 54.2.

2. In 1920 the results were similar, although the registration area included only twenty-three states. The birth rate

hand, the lowest percentage, 15-49 years of age, found in any of the three States having a birth rate of less than 21 per 1,000 population was in Oregon (54.2 per cent). The average for the three States was 55.9 percent.

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE IN STATES WITH RELATIVELY HIGH AND LOW BIRTH RATES, 1920 AND 1930

AREA	1930		AREA	1920	
	Birth Rate per 1,000 Population*	Percentage of Population 15-49 Years of Age†		Birth Rate per 1,000 Population*	Percentage of Population 15-49 Years of Age†
United States Registration Area . . .	18.9	XX	United States Registration Area . .	23.7	XX
States with Birth Rate above 21 per 1,000 Population	XX	50.2	States with Birth Rate above 26 per 1,000 Population	XX	49.1
Kentucky	22.6	49.4	North Carolina	31.4	47.6
Mississippi	23.9	51.2	South Carolina	28.3	48.9
New Mexico	28.5	50.2	Utah	31.3	49.9
North Carolina	24.1	49.9	Virginia	28.4	50.6
North Dakota	21.7	51.1			
South Carolina	23.3	49.8			
Utah	25.4	50.4			
Virginia	22.6	50.7			
West Virginia	24.0	50.2			
States with Birth Rate below 17 per 1,000 Population	XX	56.0	States with Birth Rate below 21 per 1,000 Population	XX	55.9
California	14.7	56.5	California	19.0	56.5
Illinois	16.7	56.3	Oregon	18.9	54.2
Nevada	14.6	56.2	Washington	19.8	55.5
New Jersey	16.8	55.8			
Oregon	14.1	54.2			
Washington	14.7	54.6			

* Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1935.

† Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

for the area of these states was 23.7 per 1,000 population. There were four States with a rate above 26, and only one of these reported more than 50 percent of its population 15-49 years of age (Virginia, 50.6 per cent). The four States had 49.1 percent of their population in the middle group, compared with 52.7 percent for the United States population. On the other

3. Using the effective fertility rates (Table V) for the ten States having highest and lowest rates it is possible to test Sündbärg's hypothesis still further. In none of the ten States with the highest fertility in 1920 did the 15-49 year group constitute as large a proportion of their populations as the average for the country as a whole. The nearest approach was

Idaho which ranked tenth, and even there the differential was 1.3 percent. On the other hand, North Carolina, which ranks highest in effective fertility, had a smaller proportion (47.6 percent) in the 15-49

ity rate, had the highest proportion aged 15-49 years (56.5 percent).

For 1930 the results are markedly similar. The ten states with highest fertility had a smaller proportion of their popula-

TABLE V
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE IN STATES WITH HIGHEST AND LOWEST
EFFECTIVE FERTILITY, 1920 AND 1930

AREA	1920		AREA	1930	
	Effective Fertility*	Percentage of Population 15-49 Years of Age†		Effective Fertility*	Percentage of Population 15-49 Years of Age†
United States.....	538	52.7	United States.....	479	53.4
Ten Highest States.....	XX	49.4	Ten Highest States.....	XX	50.4
North Carolina.....	827	47.6	West Virginia.....	712	50.2
Arkansas.....	798	49.9	North Carolina.....	694	49.9
Utah.....	788	49.9	New Mexico.....	688	50.2
West Virginia.....	788	50.3	Alabama.....	682	51.4
Alabama.....	786	49.4	Utah.....	677	50.4
South Carolina.....	777	48.9	Kentucky.....	674	49.4
New Mexico.....	757	50.5	Arkansas.....	672	51.2
Mississippi.....	740	49.7	Mississippi.....	659	51.2
Georgia.....	731	49.8	South Carolina.....	648	49.8
Idaho.....	729	51.4	North Dakota.....	634	51.1
Ten Lowest States.....	XX	54.9	Ten Lowest States.....	XX	55.8
Washington.....	462	55.5	Delaware.....	421	52.7
Illinois.....	450	54.7	Illinois.....	399	56.3
Nevada.....	447	58.1	Rhode Island.....	393	52.8
New Hampshire.....	435	50.5	Washington.....	388	54.6
New Jersey.....	402	54.5	Oregon.....	383	54.2
Connecticut.....	371	53.5	Massachusetts.....	374	53.0
New York.....	362	55.5	Connecticut.....	374	53.7
Rhode Island.....	363	54.0	New Jersey.....	372	55.8
Massachusetts.....	359	54.1	New York.....	351	57.1
California.....	341	56.5	California.....	305	56.5

* Source: Data derived from F. Lorimer and F. Osborn, *Dynamics of Population*, New York, 1934, pp. 358-359. Effective fertility is defined as the number of children under five years of age per 1,000 women 15-44 years of age.

† Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

year group than any other State in this highest fertility group. Of the ten States having the lowest effective fertility rates only one (New Hampshire) had a smaller middle aged group than the total population. California, with the lowest fertil-

ity rate, had the highest proportion aged 15-49 years (56.5 percent). On the other hand, the ten States with lowest effective fertility had 55.8 percent of their population in the 15-49 year group compared with the

national average of 53.4 percent. The inverse correlation between the proportion of the population 15-49 years of age and the effective fertility rate is, however, not as regular as it was in 1920. Nevertheless, the differential between the averages for the ten highest or lowest states and the national average remains substantially the same (1920, 3.3 percent and 2.2 percent, respectively; 1930, 3.0 percent and 2.4 percent, respectively).

Thus Sündbärg's hypothesis concerning birth rates is directly controverted by recent American data. It appears that the higher the birth rate the lower the percentage in the middle group. Furthermore, the figures for the middle group range considerably above and somewhat below the 50 percent mark and even differ considerably from the national average.

THE EFFECT OF VARIATIONS IN THE DEATH RATE

The hypothesis that variations in the death rate do not affect the constancy of the proportion of population between 15 and 50 years of age can be examined in the same way as the theory concerning the birth rate, by a comparison of groups of States with extreme rates.

1. The proportion of population 15-49 years of age bears little relationship to high or low death rates. New Mexico, with the highest 1930 death rate, had 50.2 percent of its population in the 15-49 year group. The entire group of States with highest death rates had 51.3 percent of their population in the middle years (including Arizona, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Mexico, and Vermont). The seven States that were most below the United States registration area in death rate had a comparable average of 52.1 percent, compared with 53.4 percent for the United States. The seven States were Idaho, Nebraska,

North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming. In other words, although the States with lowest death rates had a smaller middle group than the States with highest death rates, the difference was too slight to have great significance.

2. Almost the same general conclusion may be drawn from the 1920 figures. Both the States with highest (Colorado, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Vermont) and the lowest death rates (Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Washington, and Wisconsin) were nearly typical of the whole population in proportion of population 15-49 years of age (52.8 and 52.7 percent, respectively, compared with 52.7 percent for the entire population in 1920).

It thus appears that death rates have no effect upon proportion of population 15-49 years of age. Sündbärg's hypothesis on this point is fairly well substantiated by the data. And yet indirectly the evidence discloses another weakness of the theory. Although the age distribution in these States with extreme death rates accords fairly closely with Sündbärg's figure of 50 percent, especially in 1930, there is an inconsistency in the data for death rates and birth rates, while, according to Sündbärg's theory, variations in neither the birth rate nor the death rate influence the proportion of population 15-49 years of age. Thus, while the death rate data for extremely variant states fit the hypothesis, the cohesiveness of the theory is destroyed, at least in part.

THE EFFECTS OF PRONOUNCED POPULATION INCREASE

The theory that pronounced increase and decrease of population do not affect the percentage of the population found in the middle group can be tested in various ways; first, by considering excess of

births over deaths, and second, by considering change in size of population over a long or short period. The latter methods do not distinguish between increase in the form of interstate immigration and natural increase, and Sündbärg's paper does not clarify the problem of selection of methods.

1. The first comparison to be made will be between percentage increase in population 1900-1930 with percentage of population 15-49 years of age in 1920 and 1930. Eight States (Arizona, California, Florida, Idaho, Oklahoma, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming) increased more than twice as rapidly during the period than did the total United States population (two of them, Arizona and California, more than four times as rapidly). Fourteen States, on the other hand (Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, and Virginia), increased less than half as rapidly as the total continental area of the United States. The rapidly increasing group had 54.9 percent of its population 15-49 years of age in 1930, and 54.3 percent in 1920, compared with 53.4 and 52.7 percent, respectively, for the entire population, and 51.1 percent for the more slowly increasing States in both 1930 and 1920. Thus, the greater the rate of increase in population the higher the proportion of people 15-49 years of age. California, with the highest rate of increase, had the highest percentage in the middle years, and Vermont, with the lowest rate of increase, had the lowest percentage in the middle years during the two decades.

2. During the decade 1920-1930 only five States increased as much as 50 percent more rapidly than the total United States population,³ and only California more

³ California, Arizona, Michigan, New Jersey, and Texas.

than twice as much. Fifteen States increased less than half as rapidly as the total population (Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Dakota, South Carolina, Vermont, and Virginia), and another, Montana, decreased in population. The first group surpassed the total United States in proportion of population 15-49 years of age both in 1930 and in 1920 (55.3 percent compared with 53.4 in 1930, and 54.3 compared with 52.7 in 1920). The second group had a smaller proportion in the middle years (51.3 percent in 1930 and 51.1 percent in 1920).

3. Because most of the States showing great percentage increase in population are States of immigration and many of those of low rates of increase are states of emigration, the relationship of natural increase to population in the middle years remains undisclosed. Comparison of figures for excess of births over deaths per 1000 population in 1930 will clarify this point. Eight States, six of them in the southern part of the country (Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia), had an excess of births over deaths more than 50 percent greater than that of the total population. Only three States, all in the far west (California, Nevada, and Oregon), had less than 50 percent as large an excess as the entire country. The percentage 15-49 years of age for the first group was 50.7, compared to 56.2 for the second group, and 53.4 percent for the total population in 1930. If the two States with next lowest excess of births over deaths are added to the original three, these States being New Hampshire and Washington, the percentage for the group becomes 55.5.

Thus, the higher the excess of births over deaths, the lower is the percentage in the middle years. This is contradictory

to the hypothesis of Sündbärg, who argued that no difference should exist in the middle group. And the other evidence on population increase, by means of both natural increase and migration, diverges as much from the hypothesis, although specific States diverged differently for the different methods of comparison.

THE EFFECT OF RACE

The hypothesis that racial composition has no effect upon the percentage of population 15-49 years of age may be studied by comparing white, Negro, and other races over several decades.

1. Over the half century from 1880 to 1930 the native white population was invariably below the United States average in percentage of population 15-49 years of age (Table VI). This was due, however, mainly to the fact that the percentage of total population 15-49 years of age was affected by the foreign-born white population, which, being an immigrant population, had from 60.9 to 68.4 percent of its total in the middle years.

2. Satisfactory information on the age distribution of the Negro population is available only since 1900. In 1930 and 1920 the percentage of Negroes 15-49 years of age surpassed the percentage for the total United States population, and in the other two decades was less than for the total population. The percentage of the native white population in the middle years was smaller than that of the Negro population from 1910 to 1930, but the reverse was true in 1900. In the decades 1880 and 1890 figures for Negroes and other races are not differentiated. At the time of those censuses the percentage of the combined racial groups in the middle years was less than for native whites.

3. During the four decades since the figures for Negroes and other races have been differentiated, the proportion of

persons of other races in the middle years has surpassed those for the native white and the total population three times, and those for the Negroes twice, while equaling those of the Negroes once. The two decades of greatest difference were 1900 and 1910 when large Japanese immigration affected the proportions, and before American-born Japanese children began to affect the figures to any very great extent. In 1930, although they had increased since 1920, the increase of Japanese and Chinese was largely due to births and at the same time an increase in another

TABLE VI
PERCENTAGE OF UNITED STATES POPULATION OF
DIFFERENT RACES AND COLORS, AGED 15-49
YEARS, 1880 TO 1930*

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL	NATIVE WHITE	FOREIGN- BORN WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER RACES
1930	53.4	52.2	60.9	55.5	52.1
1920	52.7	50.4	65.8	53.8	53.8
1910	53.7	51.1	68.4	52.0	56.2
1900	52.2	50.1	66.0	49.6	56.2
1890	51.6	49.5	65.5	48.1	
1880	50.1	47.5	68.2	46.4	

* Source: U. S. Census 1930. The 1890 data for total native whites were exclusive of persons enumerated in 1890 in Indian Territory and Reservations.

nonwhite and non-Negro group, the American Indians, tended to reduce the percentage in the middle years for the total other races group.

It thus appears that when corrections are made for such gross factors as immigration there is little difference between racial groups in the percentage of population in the middle years. The slightly smaller proportion which the native white population has in the middle years appears to be explained by better health conditions and greater life expectancy, and a consequent larger proportion of persons over 50 years of age, rather than by a larger proportion of infants and children.

Sündbärg's hypothesis in general is supported by the data, but again the large recent divergences from the fifty percent figure for the middle group show the tentative nature of any theory based on conditions a half century ago.

THE EFFECT OF CLIMATE

The theory that climate has no effect on the percentage of population in the middle years may be studied in a variety of ways. Absence of consistent relationship can be noted in the changes in percentage in the middle group over a period when climate in the area under consideration has not changed. The comparison of the percentage of population in various groups of States with extremes in the climatic conditions of mean annual temperature and mean annual precipitation offers more conclusive information, however, and this method of study will be used. To facilitate comparisons, a classification of climates was made on the basis of complete records of the State weather bureaus into warm and dry (above 55 degrees mean annual temperature, below 25 inches mean annual precipitation), warm and damp (above 55 degrees temperature, above 40 inches precipitation), cold and dry (below 46 degrees temperature, below 25 inches precipitation), and cold and damp (below 46 degrees temperature, above 40 inches precipitation).

1. The warm and dry states (California and Arizona) had very large percentages of population in the middle group (56.3 percent). States with warm and damp climates (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) had only 51.4 percent in the middle years. The cold and dry States (the Dakotas, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Wyo-

ming); and the cold and damp States (those in New England) also were below the United States average percentage for persons in the middle years (53.4), with figures of 52.1 and 52.2, respectively.

It thus appears that only a combination of warmth and dryness of climate is associated with large percentage of population in the years 15-49. But even this association does not demonstrate that climate is a direct factor in age composition, because other factors, such as urbanization and interstate immigration, are confused with climate in these comparisons. It is also true that many of the States with other types of climatic conditions are States of emigration.

On the other hand, migration is at least indirectly associated with climatic conditions, since a warm climate is pleasant, and a warm and dry climate is particularly so. Climate is perhaps relatively unimportant in international migrations in recent times, but appears to be significant for interstate population movements, as the nonseasonal increase in the populations of California, Arizona, and Florida demonstrate. Recent population shifts from the central basin or continental regions to the maritime regions is partly a movement to cities, but this also has a climatic element. In fact, all cityward movements tend to be toward places where regional climate is only a small factor in comfort.

Sündbärg's theory is not supported either by the crude data or by the reasonable indirect explanation of the data, because climate indirectly affects migration and migration affects age distribution, especially cumulative immigration. Although the precise effect of climate is not known, it does seem by its influence on migration, to influence the proportion of population in the middle group.

THE EFFECT OF CIVILIZATION

The hypothesis that state of civilization has no effect on the proportion of population in the age group 15-49 can be tested to advantage by comparing the percentage

two scales built up of many measures of wealth, educational and intellectual status, health and health facilities, and other items probably will serve as well as any that can be devised. Table VII

TABLE VII
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15-49 YEARS OF AGE IN GROUPS OF STATES WITH HIGH AND LOW STATUS IN CIVILIZATION, 1920 AND 1930*

AREA	1920		AREA	1930	
	Rank in Civilization	Percentage of Population 15-49 Years of Age†		Rank in Civilization	Percentage of Population 15-49 Years of Age†
United States	XX	52.7	United States	XX	53.4
Highest Ranking States	XX	54.4	Highest Ranking States	XX	55.5
Washington	1	55.5	Massachusetts	1	53.0
California	2	56.5	Connecticut	2	53.7
Massachusetts	3	54.1	New York	3	57.1
Oregon	4	54.2	New Jersey	4	55.8
Connecticut	5	53.5	California	5	56.5
Wyoming	6	57.0	Minnesota	6	52.7
Colorado	7	53.2	Iowa	7	51.0
Montana	8	53.9	Illinois	8	56.3
New Hampshire	9	50.5	Oregon	9	54.2
Minnesota	10	53.1	Rhode Island	10	52.8
Lowest Ranking States	XX	49.7	Lowest Ranking States	XX	51.0
New Mexico	39	50.5	New Mexico	39	50.2
Kentucky	40	50.0	Kentucky	40	49.4
Tennessee	41	50.1	Louisiana	41	53.5
Alabama	42	49.4	North Carolina	42	49.9
Georgia	43	49.8	Tennessee	43	51.3
South Carolina	44	48.9	Arkansas	44	51.2
North Carolina	45	47.6	Georgia	45	51.6
Arkansas	46	49.9	South Carolina	46	49.8
Louisiana	47	52.4	Alabama	47	51.4
Mississippi	48	49.7	Mississippi	48	51.2

* Source: Data on civilization for 1920 series from F. Lorimer and F. Osborn, *Dynamics of Population*, p. 147; for 1930 series from C. Angoff and H. L. Mencken, "The Worst American State," *The American Mercury*, 24, 1931, pp. 1-16, 175-188, 355-371.

† Source: U. S. Census, 1920, 1930.

of population in the middle group in States with highest and lowest ranks in various measures of civilization. Numerous measures based on a variety of conceptions of civilization might be employed in the analysis of this point but

presents composite scores for the ten highest and lowest ranking States as well as the proportion in the age group 15-49 years.

It is interesting to note that in the 1920 and 1930 series the States ranking lowest

are the same in both cases, although the rank order is not identical. On the other hand, there is not the same agreement between the two series for the States with the highest ranks. This difference may be due in part to the items on which the States were scored.

The ten States in both series with the highest level of civilization not only had a larger percentage of population 15-49 years of age than the ten States with the lowest level (1920, 54.4 and 49.7 percent, respectively; 1930, 55.5 and 51.0 percent, respectively) but the percentage was higher than the national average in both years. Similarly, the ten States with the lowest average fell below the national average by considerable margins. In 1920 the differential was 3.0 percent, and in 1930 it was 2.4 percent.

The States with the highest scores are generally distributed throughout the country (except in the South) while the States with the lowest levels of civilization are concentrated in the South, and only one, New Mexico, was not among the slave-holding States immediately prior to the Civil War.

Again Sündbärg's theory seems to be somewhat in error, and, viewed superficially, a high state of civilization seems to be associated with unusually large percentages in the middle years. Other factors than civilization are doubtless of importance in explaining the association, for instance, migration, and the presence of cities, although these in turn appear to be causally associated with status in civilization. In any event, the effect of civilization, *per se*, cannot be examined by such a method, as its effect is mingled with that of other conditions. It may be remarked in passing, however, that it is not unreasonable to seek a close association between the size of the middle group in a population and the state of civiliza-

tion in a commonwealth. Not only does the theory of migrations support such an association, but the nature of civilization itself puts a premium on the person in the most physically and mentally productive years, which coincide very closely with the years 15-49.

THE COMBINED EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION AND MARRIAGE RATE

According to Sündbärg's hypothesis the effect of immigration upon the percentage of population 15-49 years of age is complicated by the marriage rate. If the percentage of population married remains high, immigration does not cause an increase in the proportion in the middle group; but if the marriage rate declines, immigration increases the proportion in the middle years. To test the hypothesis, States have been grouped so that those with relatively high marriage and immigration rates can be compared with those having low marriage and high immigration rates, with those having high marriage and low immigration rates, and with those having low rates in both marriage and immigration. Distinctions between high and low marriage rates (percentage of population 15 years of age and over married in 1930) were difficult to make because of the very small range throughout the country. "Immigration," as defined here, includes foreign-born and native-born persons living in a State but not born there. States with 40 percent or more of their population in the immigrant group were put in the "high immigration" group and compared with States having less than 25 percent immigrant population.

1. Examination of data grouped into the above-mentioned four groups shows that States with highest percentages of immigrant population have the highest percentage of population 15-49 years of

age, regardless of the marriage rate. However, the States with highest marriage rate and with high immigration rates (Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Michigan, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Oregon) only slightly surpassed the States with high immigration and lowest marriage rates (Connecticut, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, and Rhode Island) in the proportion of population in the middle group (53.6 and 53.0 percent, respectively).

2. The difference in the middle group is greater when the high marriage-high immigrant States are compared with the high marriage-low immigrant states (Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee, and West Virginia). Again the former surpassed the latter in the comparative size of the middle group of the population (53.6 percent, compared with 50.7). Immigration thus raises the proportion in the middle years when the marriage rate remains high.

3. States with low marriage rates and high immigration rates have only a slightly larger proportion of population 15-49 years of age than low marriage-low immigration States (53.0 and 52.0 percent, respectively). In other words, in States with lowest marriage rates extremes in immigration have little effect on the size of the middle population group.

Sündbärg's theory is again substantially contradicted by the evidence, although the data are not wholly adequate for study of the question, due to the fact that marriage rates of extreme States are so similar. Another possible source of error is the use of population units so large and heterogeneous as States. However, even when allowance is made for these matters it is unlikely that the theory would be supported. In fact, the use of the marriage rates at all shows the approximate nature of the hypothesis, because it is

not the marriage rate, itself, that changes the age grouping of the population. The use of the marriage rate is justified only on the inference that marriage always results in a high percentage of children in a population. The chain of inference from high marriage rate, to high birth rate, to large percentage of population under 15 years of age, to a stable percentage of population 15-49 years of age was perhaps tenable forty years ago, but it is now realized that the institution of marriage can be retained in a society without insuring a stationary or rising birth rate or a large proportion of population under 15 years of age.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

None of Sündbärg's hypotheses placed under review here is exactly supported when either divisions of the United States or trends are employed. And even when the United States as a whole is the unit of study, which was Sündbärg's procedure, none of the theories is exactly substantiated. An important reason is the failure of the data to support the half-and-half division which was fundamental to the other theories. To be sure, this basic division was guarded by saying it occurred "normally," but normality was left without sufficient clarification even to indicate whether changes over the fifty years since 1880 have changed the normality of the United States or of any State chosen at random.

When the categoric half-and-half division of the middle group and end groups of the age distribution is waived and we check the effect of various factors on variations from the United States average for a selected census year, three of the hypotheses are at least partially supported. First, States with greatest emigration had a smaller percentage of population in the middle group than

States with least emigration, although still more than 52 percent were in the middle group. Second, neither in 1920 nor in 1930 was there any appreciable difference between percentages of population 15-49 years of age in States with highest and lowest death rates, although both extreme death rate groups were below the national average percentage in the middle aged group in 1930. Third, there was no large or consistent difference between the native whites and Negroes in percentage of population 15-49 years of age during most of the period 1880-1930. Part of the time Negroes surpassed whites and part of the time the reverse was true. And part of the time Negroes surpassed the total population in the percentage in the middle years.

Careful examination of the data presented above may leave the impression

that, after all, the theories of Sündbärg are not wide of the mark and that, in short, more of them are approximately correct than are very far wrong. We are in fact in a position of being able to support the general truth of a theory that not far from half of the population of a country is between the ages of 15 and 50 years, and add the weight of data covering divisions of an important country over a period of several decades. However, by implication, such a conclusion attacks the simple preciseness and clarity of the original conceptions, and forces at least a restatement in more tentative and approximate terms, as well as a realization that the significance originally attached to the discovery of internationally consistent results also may be subject to an important restatement.

PORTRAIT OF HOWARD W. ODUM

A group of some 60 of Professor Howard W. Odum's former advanced graduate students at the University of North Carolina have had a portrait of him painted to be placed in Alumni Building. This building, which is being completely remodeled, will now be used exclusively by departments and projects which Dr. Odum has initiated at the University: The Department of Sociology, The Division of Public Welfare and Social Work, Social Forces, and The Institute for Research in Social Science. The coincidence of acquiring more adequate quarters and of Dr. Odum's completing twenty years' service at the University makes particularly fitting the presentation of the portrait at this time.

The portrait, which has just been completed, was painted by the distinguished Polish-American artist, Stanislaw Rembski. Mr. Rembski has painted many prominent men and women in this country and Europe including Marshal Pilsudski for the Polish Government; Leon Dabo (portrait in the permanent collection of the National Academy); the aviator, Floyd Bennett; Professor Adelaide Nutting of Columbia University; Deems Taylor, composer and music critic.

The portrait of Dr. Odum has been pronounced by all who have seen it as an excellent likeness and a dynamic and forceful portrayal.

HARRIET L. HERRING

Chairman of the Portrait Committee

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE TREATMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN TENNESSEE: A STUDY IN INTEGRATION*

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FEW, if any, social institutions, as sociological and anthropological studies have demonstrated again and again, originate wholly and completely at one time and place. Instead, the various elements or parts, which taken together form an institution, may have their root or origin at many different points of time and many different places. This fundamental cultural principle is applicable to a relatively new social institution,—the present day public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders.

Children as well as adults become law violators. Until quite recently juveniles in our western culture were held responsible for violations of the social code in the same manner as adults. Under the law they received the same punishment, or the same corrective measures which were specified for adult offenders. Within the last century, however, there has developed within western culture, and particularly in the United States, a fundamentally different viewpoint or philosophy concerning the nature of antisocial behavior

of children and a different method of dealing with juvenile offenders. Under this changed conception the treatment of juvenile delinquency has assumed a professional as well as a legal character.

In point of time, the present system of the treatment of the juvenile offender was definitely and conclusively established at the close of the last century by the enactment of State juvenile court laws, which drew a clear and unmistakable line between the delinquent and the adult offender. Differentiation of treatment between child and adult offenders, however, originated long before this time.

The first significant differentiation in treatment appeared in the modification of the confinement procedures of children. Special institutional provisions, consisting of separate cells for unruly boys, were made as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century separate correctional institutions for boys were established in Italy and during the first quarter of the nineteenth century "reformatories" for boy offenders were established in Italy, Germany, France, England, and the United States.

* Basic materials of a larger study summarized in a paper read before the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, in Atlanta, Georgia, April 1, 1939.

Further differentiation in the treatment of juvenile and adult offenders appeared during the nineteenth century. Probation, an extrainstitutional method of treatment in which the offender, under certain circumstances or conditions imposed by the court, is given an opportunity to improve his conduct while continuing his life as a member of the community either in his own home or some other home, was established in Massachusetts in 1869. The next year a law authorizing separate trial, separate records and dockets for children's cases was passed in the same state.

A few years later a bill was passed in New York which provided for the separate detention and confinement of juveniles and adult offenders. During the period from 1890 to 1899 four States passed laws which were the immediate precedents of the juvenile court legislation passed by Illinois in 1899.

The Illinois law establishing the first juvenile court in the United States represents the coming of age of the various modifying influences that had been working for centuries to soften the harsh treatment of child offenders. In addition to bringing under one jurisdiction the differentiated practices and procedures for juveniles in force at that time, the law introduced the concept of the noncriminal character of juvenile offenses and declared that the delinquent child, so far as possible, was to receive the same type of parental care that the State provided for dependent and neglected children.

Within the past forty years, this differentiated treatment for juvenile offenders, consisting of separate confinement, probation, application of the common law doctrine of age of responsibility, separate detention, separate hearings, chancery procedure, study of the individual, and separate legal and social records, has been

extended and developed in the several States through a complex of laws, practices, and procedures which cluster around two main public agencies, the juvenile courts and the State correction schools.

II

The structural aspects of the social institution for the treatment of juvenile offenders, which have been enumerated above, grew out of the present day belief that the child is primarily the result of the various factors, influences, and experiences which have made up his particular social world. Furthermore, it is believed that personality changes, and that behavior, which is an expression of personality, may be controlled and modified by guidance and direction of the child, and by manipulation of the child's environment.

This underlying philosophy implies and involves the consideration and acceptance of three definite principles which, presumably, have set the pattern for the public system of court and institutional treatment. These are: (1) the acceptance of the theory of social jurisprudence as opposed to the traditional or legalistic jurisprudence, (2) the belief that the child is not morally responsible for his delinquent behavior, and (3) the extension of the principles of *parens patrie* to delinquent children.

The various procedures and practices which characterize the juvenile courts and correctional schools are all directed to the same end, namely the social adjustment of the juvenile offender. The various practices are, therefore, all a part of a system which, theoretically at least, work together to achieve a common purpose. One division of the court at a certain point must take over and continue the process which another division has set

in motion. Or, the correctional school or institution at a certain point, must take over and continue the process which the court has set in motion. The several divisions of the court and the two public agencies simply operate as integral units of one public system.

Juvenile courts, detention, clinical diagnosis, probation, correctional schools, the causes of delinquency, the efficacy and relative merits of various specific methods or means of treating delinquency—these and numerous other aspects of the public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders have been the object of much specialized research and study by sociologists. So far as it is known, however, a scientific study of the public system from the standpoint of integration has received no attention up to the present time.

III

Integration, in the sociological sense, does not signify integration as an ethical ideal, but as a method and quality of functioning. Any complete sociological interpretation of integration implies that there is a definite relationship between the philosophy, or underlying idea or ideas of any functional system, and the structure and functions which provide and serve as the vehicle for the implementation of the idea or ideas. The end result is a unified functional system,—unified in each and all of its aspects.

Applying this concept to the present philosophy and practices of the treatment of the juvenile offender, integration implies the functional dovetailing, or synthesis, of the philosophy and basic principles, the whole complex of practices and services of the juvenile courts, and the treatment program which the correctional schools provide. It implies a continuous, unbroken, unified expression and execution of the philosophy and

principles throughout the entire procedure, beginning with the child's appearance in court, his release from the supervision of the court or the correctional institution, and his subsequent return to the community. It implies that there are no conflicts, no gaps, nor lags of consequence in the system, and that, once the process is set in motion, all the various court and institutional procedures and practices which touch upon the child function interrelatedly toward the final social restoration of the child.

The study of a public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders from the standpoint of integration necessitates the consideration of the criteria of integration. What standards have been established and are available for judging whether this social institution is integrated in the sociological sense? What rules or tests may be used to enable a scientific and objective judgment concerning the presence or absence of integration? An examination of the literature of the field of juvenile delinquency reveals no discussion of this problem. No statement of criteria was found.

After considering the institutional aspects of the system and the general patterns of this particular social institution the following criteria are proposed. While these standards have been developed with particular reference to the public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders they are applicable to other social institutions.

The criteria, briefly and concisely stated, are:

1. Consistency between the underlying philosophy and basic principles of the treatment of juvenile offenders, and their expression and implementation in law, physical structure, operational activities, and services.
2. Conformity in law, policy, and practice to professional standards, as these standards have

been established through professional recognition and practice.

3. Coordination of all the parts of law and practice in achieving the goal of its philosophy and basic principles.

It has been noted that, so far as it is known, neither professional sociologists nor the research agencies of the several States have examined any of the public systems for the treatment of juvenile offenders from this approach. In the State of Tennessee neither the separate juvenile courts nor the correctional schools have manifested any clear awareness of the problem of integration.

IV

The following pages present a brief report of the findings and conclusions of a study of the treatment of the juvenile offender in Tennessee from the standpoint of integration. The study was an attempt to examine objectively and critically the law, physical structure, practices, and services of the various juvenile courts and the four state-maintained training schools for juvenile offenders, for the purpose of determining whether the system was integrated in the sociological sense. This involved an analysis of the numerous statutes for the establishment and functioning of the various juvenile courts and the four state-maintained training schools; a description of the physical structure and equipment of each of these units; a description of the dynamic processes or the actual day-by-day functioning of each of these units, and finally, an examination and analysis of these laws, structures, and processes (all of which, considered as a whole, constitute the public system of the treatment of the juvenile offender in Tennessee) in terms of the criteria of integration noted above.

Data for the analysis of the juvenile court legislation and the laws pertaining

to the four state-maintained training schools were obtained from the public and private acts of Tennessee. Most of the data which were used as a basis for the description and analysis of the juvenile courts and the correctional schools were obtained in more or less extended periods of residence and visits in the training schools and courts, which afforded conferences with responsible officials, other employees and children; a close examination of the physical structure and equipment; a detailed study of administrative and social records; and unrestricted observation of the dynamic aspects of court activities and institutional services and program.

Continuous field research covering the State's four juvenile and two adult correctional institutions was carried on over a period of four to five months in 1936 and a lengthy report published on each institution.¹ During the first three months of 1938 an intensive field study was made of the juvenile courts of Tennessee. From April to October of the same year a further study of the four juvenile correctional institutions was made as consultant and chairman of a State Committee on Juvenile Correctional Institutions.²

Some of the provisions of the Tennessee laws were found to be inconsistent with the philosophy and basic principles as well as failing to conform to professionally

¹ *A Study of State Institutions*: Vol. I, *State Training and Agricultural School for Colored Boys*; Vol. II, *Tennessee Vocational School for Girls*; Vol. III, *Tennessee Vocational School for Colored Girls*; Vol. IV, *State Training and Agricultural School for Boys*; Vol. V, *Tennessee State Penitentiary at Nashville*; Vol. VI, *Brushy Mountain Penitentiary at Petros*, Tennessee State Planning Commission, Nashville, Tennessee, 1937.

² *Report on Juvenile Correctional Institutions*, The advisory committee on Juvenile Correctional Institutions, Tennessee Department of Institutions and Public Welfare, Nashville, Tennessee, 1938.

accepted standards. The Tennessee laws do not contain adequate provisions for the prohibition of detention in jails with adults; the upper age limit is not uniform and is set below the accepted upper age limit in the Standard Juvenile Court Law of the National Probation Association.³ Under some of the private acts juvenile court judges may still commit to county workhouses. Juvenile court judges are not assured a sufficient tenure of office to permit them to undertake a constructive program; children's cases, under some conditions, may be transferred to the criminal or circuit courts and the child prosecuted and tried for an offense; the qualifications and method of selection of probation officers and other court staff are not specified, thus opening the way for the appointment of untrained persons upon the basis of political patronage. These facts led to the conclusion that so far as the body of legislation establishing the courts is concerned this phase of the system could not be considered integrated.

An examination of the organization and personnel of the court led to a similar conclusion. In no court was there found professional supervision of the probation staff and an effective organization of the work of the court officers. No court has a qualified probation staff, or selects and appoints personnel on the basis of professional qualifications of training and experience. A detailed examination of personnel seems to suggest that political patronage, rather than professional qualification, usually determines appointments.

When the procedure and practices of the courts were examined in the light of

the criteria of integration it was revealed that the dovetailing of procedure and practice with philosophy and law, which is necessary for an integrated system, was lacking. The socialized procedure, the characteristic and distinguishing feature of the juvenile court, was ignored and displaced by criminal procedure in some courts. Even in the larger and supposedly more enlightened courts the uniformed police make the majority of arrests, detain children in jail, and handle cases unofficially without taking the child to the juvenile court. Children are frequently arrested by deputy sheriffs and constables upon criminal warrants issued by magistrates. In one of the urban courts the social investigation was quite superficial and in no court was there a thorough or adequate study of the child and his needs, with the benefit of the physical, mental, and psychological examinations recognized by professional standards as essential elements in a thorough case-work investigation and study.

Considerable variation was observed in the conduct of hearings. Some courts hear cases in privacy, using the informal chancery procedure; other courts conduct hearings in a public courtroom, with the public as spectators, and an attorney or some other individual appointed to represent the child and the sheriff or some other individual appointed to represent the state. Many judges sit on the bench merely to decide guilt or innocence and to administer justice. Such practices are characteristically penal procedure, and indicate a wide divergence from the private, informal chancery procedure which the philosophy and the law set forth as the accepted procedure in children's cases. These practices, and others which have been described, remove this phase of the system for the treatment of juvenile offenders from the plane of

³ National Probation Association. *A Standard Juvenile Court Law* rev., 1933, New York, National Probation Association. The standard juvenile court law was an effort to set forth legislation which would embody certain juvenile court standards which had been promulgated in 1923.

integration by definitely linking juvenile treatment with adult criminal procedure.

The wide variation in the percentage of children committed to the training schools by the several courts indicates an excessive use of institutional commitment by some courts. It was likewise shown that many children are committed to the correctional schools who should have the benefit of probation.

An examination of the methods of disposition further revealed that numbers of children were "probated to parents" with no case-work supervision or effort on the part of the court to change the situation in which the delinquent behavior occurs. Some courts were using methods of disposition which are characteristically criminal methods of disposition. Some of these include commitment to institution with sentence suspended; remanding to criminal court; forfeiture of bonds; commitment to county jail, and commitment to the detention home for ninety days. Such procedures are not consistent with the accepted philosophy nor do they conform to professional standards. Thus this phase of the system falls short of the criteria of integration.

A study of the training schools revealed that there is no real unanimity or continuity in the treatment process. The laws establishing the correctional schools have significant omissions. There are no provisions to insure the selection, appointment and tenure of qualified persons. There are no provisions requiring thorough physical, mental, and psychological examinations and clinical study, which are an essential part of an acceptable institutional program. The cottage system, which is recognized professionally as a necessary item in a treatment program, is required by law in only one institution. The law is replete with terminology highly suggestive of penal statutes. The

provisions relative to parole, which are incorrectly designated as "probation" in one of the laws, are wholly inadequate in that they fail to specify and provide for supervision and guidance by qualified parole officers. In general it may be said that the legislation falls far short of being consistent with the philosophy upon which the present system of treatment for juvenile offenders is based, and, because of this fact, cannot be accepted as part of an integral system.

Only the white girls' school has the equipment which would permit the development of an individualized program of treatment, an indispensable and necessary element in an integrated system. In the other three schools, the two boys' schools and the Negro girls' school, the equipment precludes proper segregation and the development of an adequate program of vocational and academic training and developmental activities, and thus forces the program down to a mass treatment level. An institutional program on this level is not acceptable from the standpoint of integration.

The dormitory system in which the inmates frequently sleep two in a single bed in overcrowded dormitories prevails in all of the schools. No night supervision by a staff member is provided in the colored boys' school, thus permitting the occurrence of undesirable sex practices. In the white girls' school, although the cottage system prevails, sleeping rooms are also overcrowded, and some thirty or more girls are required to sleep two in a single bed. In all the institutions except this one, some of the beds, springs, and mattresses are in very poor condition and need immediate replacement. In only one institution do the arrangements for sleeping meet accepted standards and in this institution there is overcrowding.

Adequate medical care is furnished in

the two white schools. In the colored boys' school the arrangements for the professional services of a physician are inadequate and it was found that a man with an eighth grade education, whose former occupation and experience had been restricted to farming, conducts clinics, makes diagnoses, and prescribes treatment for ordinary illnesses. Medical examination is not used as a part of a general diagnostic service in planning an individual program for the child, but is devoted primarily to preserving the state of health which the child had upon admission. Dental treatment is wholly inadequate in the two colored schools and the white boys' school.

Social case work and psychiatric and psychological examinations are not recognized as indispensable methods of study for understanding the attitude, emotional needs and capacities of the child, and for planning an individualized treatment program to meet the individual child's needs. These services are an essential part of an integrated system; for without them the treatment program is forced to a mass treatment level. None of the institutions has established these services, though an initial effort has recently been made to obtain personal history data on new admissions in the white boys' school. The two white schools, however, give intelligence tests to new admissions as part of the routine of admission.

The academic education in each school is based upon the formal public school curriculum. Special, or ungraded, classes were not found in the two boys' schools, with the result that in each of these institutions there were boys not attending school. The Negro boys' school does not give instruction beyond the eighth grade, consequently boys who have completed this grade are forced to spend the entire time in maintenance activities.

The school equipment at this school is exceedingly poor. In no school is the academic program flexible enough to meet the demands of the institution's population. The child is required to adjust to the institutional educational program; the program is not adapted to the needs of the child. The nearest approach to the minimum standards for academic education is in the white girls' school. The remaining institutions fall far short of the character and quality of school work which is necessary to qualify this phase of the institutional service as part of an integrated system for the treatment of juvenile offenders.

With two minor exceptions the so-called "vocational training" of the four institutions consists principally of maintenance activities. In the white girls' school, however, this routine work has been organized in such a manner that the maintenance activities have positive values in vocational training. Most of the boys' "vocational training" consists of working on the institution's farm, despite the fact that well over half of the boys come from urban centers and will return to urban centers, where they will in all likelihood make little or no use of the training they have received in this activity. Genuine vocational training is rendered almost impossible by the extremely short length of stay of the inmates and the absence of necessary equipment and competent instructors. With the possible exception of the white girls' school, this phase of the program of the State training schools cannot be considered as part of an integrated system.

Penal disciplinary methods of corporal punishment and of solitary confinement on restricted diet in barred prison-like cells continue to exist in the boys' training schools, despite an order abolishing cor-

poral punishment. The use of such methods places the schools below the level of an integrated system; for such practices are wholly inconsistent with the philosophy and principles underlying the present system for the treatment of the juvenile offender. The withdrawal of privileges and the loss of status are methods employed in the white boys' school and the two girls' schools. An unusual situation was found to exist in the colored girls' school where the inmates were locked in one building for a period of four months following a wholesale runaway of some thirty children. The examination of the disciplinary practices of the several schools revealed that with the exception of the white girls' school, this phase of the system can be considered subversive of the standards of an integrated system.

No institution has adequate social or personal history records, which are an essential and indispensable part of an integrated treatment system. They constitute the source of information upon which an individualized treatment program must be planned. An effort is now being made to obtain personal history data for a part of the population in the boys' school.

A system in which the parole policy is determined primarily upon the basis of good conduct within the institution, upon the serving of a designated portion of the "sentence," or because the institution has reached its maximum capacity and must make room for new admissions, does not meet the criteria of integration. Likewise integration is impossible when children are paroled without a thorough investigation of the home and community to which they are to be returned, without preparing both the home and the community for the return of the child, and without supervision and guidance by qualified parole officers after

their return. The practices which have been enumerated, however, are the prevailing practices of the current system in each of the four training schools. This phase of the institutional program therefore cannot be considered as conforming to the criteria of integration.

The absence of coordination between the courts of concurrent juvenile jurisdiction and the extralegal handling of juvenile cases by police, magistrate, and circuit or criminal courts are conspicuous examples of the absence of integration. In some localities the courts of inferior jurisdiction have little regard for the juvenile court law, and, despite the efforts of the juvenile judges, continue to exercise jurisdiction in cases of juvenile delinquency.

A close cooperative working relationship between the juvenile courts and the training schools, the two main divisions of the present system for the public treatment of juvenile offenders in the State, does not exist. Apparently each unit views its work as quite separate and distinct from the work of the other agency; the court feels its responsibility ends when the child has been officially admitted into the institution; and the institution considers its responsibility ceases when the child is released from the institution. Seemingly, neither of these agencies have the conception that the two units should function as a continuous unbroken set of practices and activities directed toward the adjustment of the child so that he may participate as a normal individual in his community. An absence of coordination was found in the points of contact between these agencies and the nature of the relationships at these points of contact. Specific evidence of this was found in the policy and practice of the courts in committing children who, from the standpoint of the philosophy underlying the system

should not be committed, in the failure of the courts to furnish necessary social data to the institutions, and in the failure of the court to develop proper parole procedures and practices.

V

The only conclusion which can be drawn from the analysis of the legislation establishing juvenile courts and correctional institutions, and the body of procedures and practices of these agencies, which taken together constitute the system for the treatment of the juvenile offender in Tennessee, is that the system in this State is not an integral one. The practices are not consistent with philosophy, nor do they function in a continuous unbroken manner, each practice carrying the process of treatment a bit farther in achieving the goal of the philosophy. On the other hand, there were observed wide differences in procedures and practices, which, in an integrated system, should have been characterized by a high degree of uniformity and co-ordination. Numerous serious gaps and breaks were found throughout the system.

There was no real unity or continuity in the process.

It might be insisted by some, however, that the mere fact that the system continues to operate indicates integration. A social system, such as a public system for the treatment of juvenile offenders, may be geared together in a mechanical sense; that is, there may be physical arrangements whereby the various parts are related to such an extent that the system evidences activity or motion. This, however, does not constitute integration in the sociological sense, which implies an arrangement of the various parts, not in a mechanical sense, but on the basis of consensus in which the various practices are purposively directed to a common goal motivated by a common ideal and a common philosophy, and unified in a common approach.

The public system in Tennessee for the treatment of the juvenile offender is not integrated in the sociological sense. It stands as an historical accumulation of practices and procedures which have some degree of adherence but are geared together in a more or less haphazard manner.

MODERN TRENDS IN PENOLOGY*

L. F. CHAPMAN

Florida State Prison

PRISONS and political parties, subject in characteristic American fashion to the whim and clamor of popular impulse, change their faces with changing circumstance, and therefore never are the same in any two days in succession. They are themselves trends, weather-vanes, social currents, mirrors, which reflect the momentary ideas of the

populace. A photograph of the prisons and political parties of the Nation on any given day will give a fairly clear picture of the thinking of the American people.

In this sense, a prison must remain a trend of some importance, for crime unhappily is a steadily enlarging feature in America—what with jails, prisons and penitentiaries, reformatories, detention homes, delinquent schools, peace officers, courts, juvenile agencies and the like, and a vast army of half a million souls

* Read before the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, April 1, 1939.

behind bars—an army larger than was under arms at any one time during the Civil War, or during the whole of the Spanish-American War, or engaged in any one battle in the World War.

What to do with this army? How marshal, direct, regiment, discipline, and discharge? How close recruiting offices and prevent re-enlistments? The answer has been a series of trends—from brutality to sob-sister pampering—which provide a network of trends which lead—where?

Today's trend magnifies the warden in prison management. His importance has not always been noted. Formerly, he was merely a keeper, a herder, a "corral" impresario, whose sole duty was to guard his charges. He was successful if he could report at the end of the year: "Few escapes," the traditional caricature that of a beefy brute, armed with a spiked club. The trend in penology makes the warden more than a keeper, for he must set the temper of the institution he heads. He must be an uplifting force; in him should be reflected the strength and dignity, the mercy and wholesomeness of government itself. He must not submit to the subtlest of temptations—that of coasting downward to the level of prisoners. Always must he strive to lift the institution to higher levels—always must he resist the insidious impulse to gravitate downward by the very weight of the prison. This temptation is ever present. Always the pull is away from high standards, drawn by the average low intelligence of prisoners, by betrayed hopes and promises, by the tragic ease with which men insist on throwing their lives away, by the utter cheapness of human life and the wanton waste of time and talent. It is a good warden who can maintain his faith in prisoners through the years.

The trend today allows politics to play small part in the selection of a warden,

for a prison is a highly technical institution, like a college or a hospital. A warden must be prepared for his great task by training and experience, by temperament and a sense of duty. Good government has been given a heavy blow when a warden has been selected because he "stood in with the party" or because the heads of the party "owed him a political debt."

Prisons today take the form and color of a warden's thinking. A thoughtful visitor at the Florida prison remarked: "A prison is a good photograph of the warden." In this respect wardens have come into great opportunities. As never before, wardens may establish definite policies, mould their prisons, and doubtless determine for two generations the popular attitude toward imprisonment. The trend today is to demand that each prison maintain a fixed theory of prison management so as to determine by experience what is after all the best theories of all. Whether clearly defined or not, each prison is a laboratory in which a wide variety of experiments is being tested—theories unique and elaborate, simple or involved, ancient or helter-skelter.

As an example of this distinct trend, the Florida prison is endeavoring to determine whether normal living may not be the best atmosphere in a prison, since it appears to me that crime, generally speaking, is a result of abnormal living. Such a term, "abnormal living," does not imply insanity, but social madness, unapproved mental attitudes. Abnormal thinking, for example, abnormal ideas and ideals, abnormal habits, associates, desires, dark aims and ambitions, living on a plane beneath accepted standards.

Such living includes gambling and drinking to excess, living by one's wits at the expense of others, fleecing gullible simpletons, scheming, robbing, filching,

giving little or nothing in return, seeking the pot of gold at rainbow's end on another's property. Not all men who follow such careers are sent to prison, but practically all who are sentenced have been busily engaged in pursuing such follies. The exceptions are noted in the small minority who are guilty of crimes of impulse—such as murder on the spur of the moment or robbery under sudden and unexpected temptation. The Florida prison is endeavoring to learn whether normal living will not act as a deterrent, if not an actual cure, for crime. The prison seeks to teach men to live normally.

For five years now this theory has controlled the Florida State Prison. The management has been definitely dedicated to the effort to create in the prison an atmosphere as nearly normal as possible. Since no institution can be normal—neither a college, nor the army or navy, nor slums; for normal living is impossible where life is jammed into constricted quarters—it is probable that a prison may only approximate normal living conditions. The effort in Florida follows the traditional American emphasis.

Cleanliness, for example. For is there not a close connection between cleanliness and health? Is there anything inconsistent with prison discipline in a bath a day for every prisoner, immaculate rooms, perfect sanitation in dining room and kitchen, smooth lawns everywhere and clipped hedges, winding drives in the prison enclosure with flowers and trees? Is a prison rule absurd which prohibits profanity and filthy stories and muddy reading matter? In this simple matter of cleanliness I have noted an almost immediate elevation of morale in even the most discouraged prisoner.

As a further example of normal living, obedience to constituted authority might be mentioned. It is important that pris-

oners learn this for most of them are in prison because they never have been taught that the will of the individual cannot be supreme in a democracy. They have flaunted, perhaps even defied, authority. In the western dictum, they have been outlaws. They have followed their own sweet wills to their own destruction. Now prison rules should be few and simple—there are only six in the Florida prison, viz. no liquor, no weapons, no gambling, respect for the officers, cleanliness and work—but these few should be sternly enforced. No infraction of a rule should be overlooked, however trivial—not for the sake of the rule but for training in obedience to authority. Wilful infraction of any rule has the taint of anarchy.

Work too is normal. The public clamor against work for prisoners passes my understanding. To my way of thinking no greater injury can be done any man than to train him to believe that he can live without working. Any man lives at less than his best if he be not devoted to the ancient tenet that work is better than leisure. Crime itself usually is the violent effort to live without work. To permit a prisoner to live in idleness and ease, receiving meanwhile creature comforts of food, clothing, shelter, entertainment and hospitalization, confirms him in the false philosophy that has damned to extinction many a generation of the old nobility in many nations. In such a case, the prison itself becomes criminal. This work should be constructive, enlightening, abreast of the times, something far more than merely putting in the hours. It should engage the interest, the ingenuity and initiative of the prisoner.

Happily this feature of normal living is not a difficult matter at the Florida prison where holdings of 18,000 acres and a year round outdoor climate provide

almost unlimited facilities, by which the prison and other state institutions are supported. Tragic beyond expression is the condition of prisoners encased in prisons where work cannot be provided for all.

A mystery is an abnormal thing and to my way of thinking all unknown features should be eliminated from prison life to make it normal. The unknown is a challenge anywhere and the unknowable beckons to far horizons. It is not surprising that prisoners search for the "X" in the algebra of prison routine. No prisoner should be kept in the dark about anything that concerns him. Secrets about a prison are evil spirits which brood a train of vicious heirs. All cards should be laid on the table, face up. Prisoners should know the justice of imprisonment, the sanity of discipline, the source of detainers and their nature, the theory of pardons and the rewards of a change of face. Knowledge is mental health, the absence of which invites a feverish mentality which breeds social miasmas.

Prison walls are sources of mysteries of all sorts. Prisons should have no walls. At the Florida prison a triple industrial fence furnishes the security of a wall with none of the evils of a wall. Hidden behind walls, prisoners note unceasingly these masonries, speculate on the foundations, the probable thickness, methods of scaling. The wall is imbedded in their very souls. Finally, in the presence of this standing challenge, prisoners are willing to brave rifles and tear-gas in an assault on the wall. With deep longing they face the constant mystery. Such a situation is not normal. Prisoners should see and should have no need to speculate. They can breathe deeply if they can—see. An industrial fence cures at one stroke this claustrophobia, this standing mys-

tery, this constant challenge. In my opinion, most of the troubles in walled prisons are traceable directly to the walls.

Under this policy, wholesome results are noted at the Florida prison. For instance, eighteen hundred men watch a ball game, yelling, applauding, booing, and never glance at the fence. There's nothing but God's countryside beyond the fence, cattle in the fields, cars on the highway, all a familiar aspect. No occasion to wonder, to speculate. No mystery—therefore no restlessness. I quote from a letter written by an experienced prisoner: "This is a funny place. They give you just enough liberty to make you realize what you are missing. You can see and walk about and wave at cars and have visitors in the park and never think of escaping. You only think what a fool you are to do things that get you shut away from the best in life."

At the Florida prison constant mental expansion is found to be the normal thing, and herein lies the most difficult of prison problems. It is not easy to keep men alert mentally in prison. Effortless routine is enticing—routine which is a rut and a greatly elongated grave. Men, even prisoners, must grow or die. Thus considerable emphasis should be laid on schools, magazines, radios, newspapers, and entertainment, including athletics.

Can any tragedy be greater than mental stagnation? A prison should ward off this unspeakable degradation. To permit prisoners to drift down the groove of routine is to unfit them utterly to meet outside competition when they make their great venture into liberty. The world moves rapidly now; living is an intricate thing. How important that the 65,000 prisoners discharged from American prisons each year be capable of catching step with the fast-stepping procession called civilization! Prison life should train each

man in some particular phase and to this end the productive departments at the Florida prison—seventeen of them—are being adapted as parts of the prison school, with the department heads as members of the school staff.

Prison departments should be designed to train men, the products should be incidental. Suppose each man discharged from prison were an expert at something! My observation is that prisoners who are alert mentally, expanding wholesomely, usually are safe to release. Further, no man should be released who has not become an expert in some line. If he will not study, or is mentally incapable of taking training, why release him? He will remain a misfit outside and likely return to prison after inflicting damage on some worthy citizen. Often I have watched men change their whole outlook by merely acquiring the habit of thinking seriously. Many times have I told men whom I was sending to solitary: "You are placed in solitary to do some thinking. See if you know how!" Wholesome results are surprisingly frequent—when men stop long enough to do a little thinking.

The trend in prison management today is, and should be, the enrichment of personality. Most prisoners have lived empty lives, seldom coming into contact with great personalities. Not often have they been on the other end of the log when Mark Hopkins sat down. Imprisonment at the end of a hollow existence—this tells the tale of countless thousands. Now prisons should fill this lack. If every man employed at prisons were in himself a compelling, uplifting personality, doubtless prisons no longer could be called crime factories. In all too many cases, there is nothing in prison life to counteract the influence of the worst type of criminals.

This lack of stimulus in and about a

prison is waste of the unpardonable type and is a depressing thing to behold. Note the waste! Eighteen hundred prisoners—eighteen hundred days every day! Five and one half years each day! The Rheims cathedral, I understand, was seven hundred years in building; the Florida prisoners could build it in 140 days! The Florida ship canal, it is said, must cost \$143 million and five years of time—but the prisoners could dig it with wheelbarrows and at no cost save maintenance, which must be paid anyway. The public will not permit prisoners to build a Rheims cathedral nor dig the canal, since it would interfere with free labor. If prison waste is to be eliminated, "immensity must be turned inward," as Hugo would say. The effort must be within the lives of the prisoners themselves. Where now prisoners are empty in their lives, dead in mental and spiritual lethargy, unformed and at loose ends, they must be revived, re-vamped, energized, lifted out of themselves. Contact with energizing personality alone can accomplish this, for personality only can deflect life. The mystical contagion of life itself, the invisible current of spiritual values can work great changes in the lives of the prisoners. Employees should be of the best type and should mingle with the inmates freely through the whole spread of prison operation and thus hope to contribute to the filling of vacant lives.

These and many other features foster a normal atmosphere in the prison and illustrate a pronounced modern trend in penology. Prisoners should be permitted to talk among themselves, the silent system being utterly abnormal. So also every encouragement should be given to keep family ties strong; the Florida prison has a visiting park where relatives may visit all day Sunday, bring basket dinners; only once in the six years of ex-

perience with this park has any trouble developed. Recreation of all sorts has its place, too, and music in plenty, radios in all parts of the prison, and free access to the heads of the prison. All for the definite purpose of seeking a normal atmosphere.

Three favorable results have been noted: (1) low escape rate—lower than that of Alcatraz at the writing and the lowest of which I have any knowledge; (2) low recidivist rate. The national average is reputed to be about 22 percent; that of the Florida prison about 12 percent. (3) Minimum of internal troubles. Major riots and strikes unknown; no prisoner has attacked a guard with serious intent.

None of this is to say that the theory in process of experimentation at the Florida prison is best. It may be determined in the end that some other prison has at last found the best system. It can be said that nothing conclusive has been reached by any State in prison management. Everywhere prisons remain what they al-

ways have been—trends to indicate the momentary attitude of wide sections of the populace. The Florida prison is working out an experiment which gives promise and this is mentioned as part of the present national trend in penology.

The trend in penology today is the search for the effect of the prison on the prisoner. Along a wide front this trend is noted. Each prison is carrying on its individual experiment. In the end doubtless it will be determined that parole and probation should be used more widely; that no prison should house more than 1500 men lest they be lost in the mass; that wardens should be given greater freedom in determining the policy of prison operation; that a wholesome atmosphere rather than a forbidding one is best in a prison; that normal living rather than regimentation will find a deeper response in winning men from crime; and that in prison life waste must be abolished by enrichment in personal worth.

1940 WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

"Children in a Democracy" is the significant theme of the Fourth White House Conference on Children to be held in Washington, D. C., January 18-20, 1940. Quoting from an address by Homer Folks, secretary of The State Charities Aid Association, who was First Vice-Chairman of the first White House Conference thirty years ago, the *S. C. A. A. News* writes:

"The 1940 Conference on Children in a Democracy, the first session of which was held last April, will differ notably from its predecessors. It will be the first occasion on which programs of action dealing with such diverse phases of child welfare as education, health, recreation and social well-being will be brought together and submitted as a well considered whole. In accordance with its theme, the Conference will deal with the well-being of all children in America, as affected by a democratic form of government and, generally speaking, by democratic ideals and attitudes, over a long period of years.

Groups of persons of special knowledge and experience will contribute to various phases of each subject. In this way, we expect to put in order the results of research and of experience in child welfare since the 1929 White House Conference, and to consider how a democratic governmental system—Federal, State and Local—has affected the quality, distribution and adequacy of services for children. It will be the responsibility of the Conference to plan how these services may be made more adequate and more available to all the children in America, and more completely in accord with the latest results of scientific research and of practical experience in the fields of education, health and welfare."

Each White House Conference has had its special subject, scope and field. The first dealt solely with the needs of children supported apart from their own homes; the second drew up "Standards of Child Welfare"; while "Child Health and Protection" was the theme of the third.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

University of Pennsylvania

A GOOD deal of the literature on marriage and the family seems to proceed blithely on the assumption that marriage is the consummation of a pairing process of boys and girls in their late teens and early twenties: the first such step for both parties to the ceremony. It is true that a large proportion of marriages are of this kind, but it is also true that a considerable number are not. In an earlier study,¹ I have shown the range of ages in marriage, and it seems equally pertinent to call attention to the related problem of the previous conjugal condition of those marrying. To what extent are marriages first marriages? What is the relative importance of the problem of re-marriage? Whom do persons marry when they re-marry? How do the conjugal classes differ in age distribution? Does the extent of re-marriage vary from one nationality and race to another? How soon do divorced persons re-marry?

The answers to these questions constitute some of the basic data of the problem of re-marriage, and fortunately the marriage statistics of a few States permit accurate answers to them. The annual

reports on the vital statistics of New York and Massachusetts are particularly valuable in this connection. To determine the important social data about the previous conjugal condition of those marrying, an analysis has been made of a half million (507,427) marriages, consummated in the State of New York exclusive of New York City, during eleven selected years: 1916-24, 1929, and 1936. The conclusions presented in this article are based almost entirely on these data.

1. *What is the extent of the problem of re-marriage?* Of the total number of more than a half million marriages, four out of five (81.5 percent) were first marriages for both parties, from which it follows that one out of five (18.5 percent) were re-marriages for one or both parties. Of the total number, 31,421, or 6.2 percent, were re-marriages for both persons. These percentages indicate the relative importance of the problem of re-marriage, and suggest that the subject may have greater significance than its past treatment in the literature on the family would imply.

2. *Whom do persons previously married marry when they re-marry? Do they marry mostly single persons, or do they select persons who, like themselves, have been married before?* To answer these questions, Table I pre-

¹ James H. S. Bossard, "The Age Factor in Marriage," *The American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1933, pp. 536-547.

sents the marriage selections, of previous conjugal conditions, by 125,424 persons re-marrying, in New York State exclusive

classes differ in age distribution? The age distribution of the three conjugal classes included in Table I is not shown separately

TABLE I

MARRIAGE SELECTION, OF PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITIONS, BY 125,424 PERSONS RE-MARRYING, BY SEX AND BY PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION: NEW YORK STATE, 1916-24, 1929 AND 1936

PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION	NUMBER OF PERSONS	TOTAL PER CENT	PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION			
			Single	Widowed	Divorced	Widowed and Divorced
Widowers.....	49,231	100.0	47.8	43.9	7.6	0.5
Widows.....	43,608	100.0	44.2	49.6	5.6	0.6
Divorced Men.....	13,955	100.0	61.2	17.5	20.7	0.6
Divorced Women.....	17,279	100.0	60.7	21.7	16.7	0.8
Divorced and Widowed Men.....	695	100.0	37.7	39.3	19.3	3.6
Divorced and Widowed Women.....	656	100.0	39.3	43.1	13.7	3.8
Total.....	125,424	100.0	49.7	39.8	9.7	0.7

of New York City, during the years previously identified.

From this table, at least three conclusions may be drawn. (1) Of all persons re-marrying, half marry single persons and half marry persons who, like themselves, had been previously married. (2) There is a definite selection of persons in the same previous conjugal condition, i.e., widowed persons mate with widowed persons, divorced persons mate more often with divorced persons than other groups do, and even those who have been both widowed and divorced seem to single each other out. In each class, too, the women tend to mate with the same previous conjugal condition noticeably more than do the men. (3) Divorced persons, both male and female, re-marry with single persons to a much greater extent than do the other classes, as shown in Table II. This may be a matter of conscious choice, or it may be due to the fact that the divorced group are younger than the widowed.

3. *To what extent do the three conjugal*

TABLE II

AGES OF PERSONS MARRYING, BY TEN YEAR PERIODS, AND BY PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, MASSACHUSETTS, 1937

AGE GROUPINGS	PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION		
	Single	Widowed	Divorced
1. Grooms—33,652			
Under 20 years.....	2.7	0.0	0.0
20-29 years.....	72.6	4.6	16.0
30-39 years.....	20.7	19.4	45.3
40-49 years.....	3.2	28.8	26.5
50 years and over.....	0.8	47.2	12.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
2. Brides—33,652			
Under 20 years.....	16.6	0.0	0.5
20-29 years.....	70.0	9.1	34.5
30-39 years.....	11.5	23.4	40.7
40-49 years.....	1.6	33.4	17.1
50 years and over.....	0.3	34.1	7.2
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0

in the New York State reports. To throw some light on this matter, recourse may be taken to some statistics from the State

of Massachusetts. The annual report on the vital statistics for this State for 1937 classifies the ages, by ten year periods, of persons marrying, by previous conjugal condition. The total number of marriages reported on is 33,652.

On the basis of the facts in Table II, the three conjugal classes included arrange themselves, on an age basis, in a very definite order. Single persons naturally are the youngest, 75.3 percent of the men and 86.6 percent of the women being under 30 years of age. Next are divorced persons, in which 16 percent of the men and 35 percent of the women are under thirty. Finally are the widowed, among whom but 4.6 percent of the men and 9.1 percent of the women are less than 30 years of age. This throws some light on the discussion under question number 2.

Incidentally, it might be pointed out that the data for Massachusetts also show some interesting facts about the age combinations in marriage, in relation to previous conjugal condition. (1) When single men marry widows and divorcees, the women are much older, in relation to the ages of their husbands, than is the case in other marriages. For example, of the widows in the 30 to 34 year age group who re-marry, 40 percent marry men under thirty and only 26 percent of them marry men in the age groups above 35 years. The one exception is in the case of younger widows, who, like their unwidowed competitors in the same age groups, marry men invariably older than themselves. (2) When previously married men marry single girls, they select girls considerably younger than themselves. (3) When persons previously married, marry among themselves, their ages tend more to be in the same age group than is the case in other combinations of conjugal classes.²

² For detailed tables on these points, consult the annual report on Vital Statistics, Massachusetts, Boston, 1937, pp. 240-241.

4. *Does the extent of re-marriage show any variations from one nationality to another? and from one race to another?* The answer to this question is unequivocally affirmative. Not only is there a difference in this respect between the native born, the foreign born and the Negroes, but the differences in many cases are marked. As a general statement, marriages of widowed persons, and of divorced ones too, represent a larger proportion of all marriages among the foreign born than among the native born. Comparing whites and Negroes, marriages of widowed persons constitute a larger proportion, and marriages of divorced persons a smaller proportion, of all marriages among Negroes than among whites. Particularly pronounced are the differences between the various nationality groups among the foreign born. But 46.3 percent of Austrian, and 50 percent of Hungarian and Polish, brides are single, as against 86 percent of Irish, and 83 percent of Canadian, brides. Even more marked are the differences with respect to the re-marriages of divorced persons. Among the Hungarian women who marry in New York State, 21.9 percent are divorced, among Austrian women the percentage is 19.4, while among Irish women it is but 3.7 percent. The facts concerning the previous conjugal condition of brides and grooms by country of birth, for New York State in 1936, are summarized in Table III.

Three factors combine to account for the marked differences between the nationality groups included in Table III. One of these is the older age distribution of the foreign born population. A second factor is the higher mortality among the foreign born at all age groups. Finally, there is the religious factor, which influences the percentage of divorced persons who re-appear in the marriage statistics.

5. *How soon do divorced persons re-marry?* Data necessary to answer this question

are presented in Table IV. This table includes statistics on the time interval between divorce and re-marriage in the State of New York, exclusive of New York City, for three selected years, the same year that the divorce is granted; (2) that in about one-half of the cases, the divorce was granted either in the same year or in the year preceding the re-

TABLE III

PREVIOUS CONJUGAL CONDITION, BRIDES AND GROOMS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: NEW YORK STATE, 1936

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	SINGLE		WIDOWED		DIVORCED		DIVORCED AND WIDOWED	
	Brides	Grooms	Brides	Grooms	Brides	Grooms	Brides	Grooms
Total.....	87.5	87.4	5.9	7.0	6.3	5.3	0.2	0.2
White.....	87.6	87.5	5.7	6.9	6.4	5.4	0.2	0.2
United States.....	88.9	88.6	4.9	6.0	6.1	5.3	0.2	0.2
Total foreign.....	72.3	78.2	16.9	14.9	10.4	6.5	0.3	0.3
Austria.....	46.3	65.8	34.3	25.7	19.4	8.6		
Canada.....	83.1	80.7	8.6	12.3	8.3	6.7	0.1	0.2
Denmark, Norway, Sweden.....	67.9	81.2	18.9	12.8	11.9	5.8	1.3	0.3
England, Scotland, Wales.....	74.3	75.9	15.1	16.0	10.3	7.4	0.3	0.7
Germany.....	71.6	78.4	16.6	15.2	11.5	5.8	0.2	0.7
Hungary.....	50.4	68.9	24.1	16.3	21.9	14.1	3.6	0.7
Ireland.....	86.1	86.2	10.2	10.9	3.7	2.9		
Italy.....	66.2	80.0	26.2	14.9	7.6	4.9		0.2
Poland.....	50.4	74.2	35.9	21.7	13.0	3.8	0.7	0.3
Russia.....	60.4	69.8	24.3	18.2	15.3	11.7		0.3
Negro.....	82.7	82.2	13.6	13.8	3.5	3.8	0.2	0.3

TABLE IV

RE-MARRIAGE OF DIVORCED MEN AND WOMEN, BY TIME INTERVAL:
NEW YORK STATE, 1922, 1929, 1936

YEAR	NUMBER OF PERSONS BY SEX	YEAR DIVORCE WAS OBTAINED, IN RELATION TO RE-MARRIAGE					
		Same Year	Preceding Year	Two Years Before	Three to Four Years Before	Less Than Five Years Before	Five or More Years Before
1922	Grooms 1,122	26.9	24.8	12.6	14.5	78.8	21.2
	Brides 1,444	30.7	25.0	13.8	10.9	80.4	19.6
1929	Grooms 1,633	28.6	18.9	10.4	14.3	72.2	27.8
	Brides 1,964	30.0	23.6	12.0	12.1	77.7	22.3
1936	Grooms 3,886	29.3	19.0	9.6	13.4	71.3	28.7
	Brides 4,564	29.3	21.5	10.4	12.2	73.4	26.6

York City, for three selected years, separated by seven year intervals.

From Table IV it appears: (1) that in about three out of ten cases where divorced persons re-marry, they do so in

marriage; (3) and that in about three-fourths of the cases, re-marriage occurs in less than five years after the divorce has been granted. It seems reasonable to conclude that in the cases, perhaps one-

half of the entire number, where the remarriage occurs quite soon after the divorce, the desire to re-marry was a motivating factor in the divorce.

How many divorced persons re-marry is not known. Popenoe estimates, on the basis of data collected by the Institute of Family Relations at Los Angeles, California, that the percentage among women may be between 25 and 35 percent, and for men between 40 and 50 percent.³ From Table IV, it would appear that those who do re-marry, do so promptly. On the other hand, from 20 to 30 percent of divorced persons re-marrying have been divorced for five or more years. Detailed analysis of the 1936 statistics for New York State indicate that 18 percent of the divorced men who re-married in that year had been divorced before 1930, and 2 percent before 1920.

Comparing the three selected years in Table IV with each other there appears a tendency for the time interval to lengthen as time goes on. Perhaps the desire to re-marry is less important as a

motive to divorce with its increasing acceptance as a therapeutic measure.

SUMMARY

Four main conclusions about the problem of re-marriage have been presented in this article. (1) One out of five marriages involves a re-marriage for one or both parties. In one out of sixteen marriages, it is a re-marriage for both. (2) Half of the persons previously married who marry again select single persons as their mates; half select persons who, like themselves, had been married before. Widowed persons tend to select the widowed; divorced persons, the divorced; and those both widowed and divorced, seem to single out persons in similar conjugal condition. (3) The problem of re-marriage varies markedly from one nationality to another. Basic factors responsible for this are (a) the age distribution, (b) the mortality rate, (c) the attitude toward divorce of the respective groups involved. (4) Most divorced persons who re-marry do so relatively soon after their divorces have been obtained. The tendency to do so seems to decline somewhat with the passage of time.

SOME CONTRASTS IN LEVELS OF LIVING IN INDUSTRIAL, FARM, AND PART-TIME FARM FAMILIES IN RURAL MISSISSIPPI*

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THE purpose of this report as the title implies is to contrast the levels of living of three types of families—industrial, part-time farm, and farm. In the industrial group we have

two classes—those families residing in mill villages and those residing in the country. Both husband and wife were engaged in industrial work. The part-time farm group also includes two classes, those families in which the husband was a full-time farmer and the wife an industrial worker and those families in which

* Read before the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, March 31, 1939.

³ Paul Popenoe, "Re-Marriages of Divorcees to Each Other," *The American Sociological Review*, October, 1938, p. 699.

the husband was a part-time farmer¹ and the wife a farm assistant; that is, she assisted in the production of one or more farm products offered for sale. The third group, or the farm group, is represented by only one class, or those families in which the husband was a full-time farmer and his wife a farm assistant.²

There were from 40 to 49 families in each of the five classes, or a total of 214 families. The families in which the wife was employed in industry included all eligible families in four plants (two cotton mills and two garment plants). The families in which the wife was a farm assistant included all eligible families in a random sample of one-fourth of the farm homes within a ten-mile radius of three of the plants in which the wives engaged in industrial work were employed. Employment was defined as 150 working days during the schedule year (1937-1938). The census definitions of part-time and full-time farms were used. The information was secured by personal interviews with the use of schedules. All families included were interviewed by the same person.

The families in this study all resided in poor agricultural areas of Mississippi. They were normal families—that is, were families with a husband and wife. The husband and wife kept house during the entire schedule year. The wife was farm reared and was in the 17-35-year age group. Families receiving pensions,

work relief, and inheritances were not included.

Expressed in terms of income per member per family, the families in which the husband farmed full time and the wife worked in industry were the families with the best income, their average income per member being \$265. Industrial families followed closely, those in the open country averaging \$259 per person and those in the mill village \$246 per person. Families in which the wife assisted on the farm and the husband farmed part time averaged \$157 and those in which the husband farmed full time and his wife assisted him averaged \$119. Income included, as in the Consumer Purchases Study, the total net money incomes received during the year by all members of the economic family from all sources, plus the value of the occupancy of homes of farm families and the net value of occupancy of owned homes of industrial families, the value of home grown food and other farm products used by the family, and the value of inventory change in livestock and crops stored for sale.

The women assisting their husbands on the farm had more children than the women employed in industry, the families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives averaging 4.6 persons and those of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives 4.4 persons. The mill village mother had more children than industrially employed mothers residing in the open country. The mill village family actually made more income than the families of the other two classes with wives in industry, but averaged less income per member because of its larger family, 4.1 persons as compared with 3.9 and 3.1 persons in the other two classes. The mother on the mill ground doubtless feels freer to leave her children. It is one thing to be several miles away from

¹ "Husband part-time farmer" was one who combined farm operation with miscellaneous kinds of non-farm work, usually unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled work.

² The present study was limited to a discussion of these five classes because the author had in hand data in connection with a study which she was making, entitled: "A Comparison of the Socio-Economic Status of Farm-reared Factory and Farm Women in Mississippi."

one's home and one's family, and another to be almost within calling distance. The difference in the size of industrial and farm families would have been more marked had the wives in all classes been of the same age. The wives in 75 per cent of the families in which both husband and wife worked in industry were 25-35 years of age. The wives in 67 per cent of the families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives were of this age. The wives of the full-time farmers were the youngest, the ages of those industrially employed not differing from those assisting on the farm.

One often heard in these rural areas that the farming husbands of industrially employed wives were encouraged to loaf and let their wives support them. The data in this study do not bear this out. The median gross farm income of full-time farmers with wives working in industry and with wives assisting them on the farm was the same; that is, \$188. The net profits from the farm were somewhat less for the farm family with wife employed in industry (\$36 less). The husband of the industrially employed wife had to hire more labor; however, this labor could be secured at 75 cents a day, or for much less than his wife was earning. Production for home consumption was \$62 a year greater in full-time farm families in which the wife worked on the farm, but there were 1.3 more members in such families.

The family of the full-time farming husband and industrially employed wife is in one sense a selected class. All these women with one exception were employed in garment plants. These plants were established six or seven years ago, at the time when farm women and girls in poor agricultural areas of Mississippi were especially desirous of work. The plants naturally selected the most promising

from the hundreds who applied. Twenty-seven percent of the women in this class were high school graduates, 3 percent had attended college, and only 27 percent had eighth-grade schooling or less. Then, too, the industrially employed wives of full-time farmers were more often daughters of land owners. This meant that their husbands perhaps had had more assistance in the form of loans of workstock and feed, gifts of seed and the like, than had the husbands of women whose parental families were more often tenants.

Seven percent of the income of industrial families in mill villages was in the form of nonmoney income, while 13 percent of the income of industrial families in the country was in this form. The larger proportion of total income in the form of nonmoney income of the industrial family in the country is due to two facts. In the first place, 50 percent of the industrial families in the country owned their homes. The industrial families in the mill village lived in company-owned houses. Then, too, the industrial families in the country produced more products for home consumption. The median value of products produced for home consumption by the industrial class in the mill village was \$15; by those in the country \$67. Some of the mill village families had milk cows, a number had spring and summer gardens and poultry. With the movement from village to open country, however, production for home consumption increased fourfold. This, no doubt, is due to the fact that rural areas tend to draw the mill element that consider the home production way the "good way."

The higher incomes of families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives than of families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives cannot be explained by differences in amounts cleared from farm operation. In fact, full-time farm

families realized more from farm operation than did part-time farm families. Part-time farm families operated somewhat larger farms and averaged more from the sale of farm products, but cleared less due to the fact that they had more expenses in making a crop, especially labor expenses. The median net cash receipts from farm operation for the part-time farm group were \$69; for the full-time farm group \$119 or about \$50 more. Nor can the difference in the incomes of part- and full-time farm families be explained by differences in consumption of farm produced food which value entered into total income figures. Here also the full-time farm family showed a somewhat superior record. The higher incomes of part-time farmers can be explained in only one way; that is, the cash which they earned from work off the farm. In terms of dollars and cents, it paid the farmer of this study to turn a part of the farming business over to his family, or in cases of larger farms, to wage workers and crop-pers and seek gainful work off the farm.

Those classes in which the wife was industrially employed and the family resided in the country were the families most often owning their homes. These were also the families with the greatest income per member. Sixty-eight percent of the families in which the wife was industrially employed and the husband a full-time farmer, and 50 percent of the families in which the wife and husband were both industrially employed and resided in the country, owned their homes. Only one-fourth of the families in which the wife was not industrially employed owned their homes. Families of part-time and full-time farmers with farm assistant wives did not differ in this respect. The families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives lived in somewhat better houses than did those of full-time

farmers with farm assistant wives, the median yearly rental value of the houses of part-time farmers being \$35, and that of full-time farmers \$30. Mill village families lived in company-owned houses, paying a median yearly rent of \$66. The houses of industrial families in the village were on the whole in better repair than were the houses occupied by full- and part-time farmers with farm assistant wives. It was possible in some of the homes of these two farming classes "to study astronomy through the holes in the roof and geology through the cracks in the floor."

It is important to know not only about the prevalence of ownership of homes of the five classes of families studied, but also to what extent overcrowding existed and something concerning their household conveniences. The families residing in the open country with the wife in industry were least crowded, averaging more than one room per person. Industrial families in the mill village were most crowded. Seventy-five percent of these families had less than one room per person. The families of part-time farmers and full-time farmers with wives assisting on the farm were also crowded. Sixty-three percent of the part-time farm group and 54 percent of the full-time farm group had less than one room per person.

Due to limited space, the industrial family in the mill village rarely had a dining room or parlor. All rooms must serve in the main for sleeping and food preparation. A number of families, however, had the front bedroom furnished so that it could serve also as a living room. Fancy bedspreads, congoleum rugs, and rocking chairs were much in evidence. It was the family of the industrial woman married to the full-time farmer who more often had a dining room and parlor. This family had more space, as well as more

cash for purchasing necessary dining room and parlor furniture.

The mill village family had fewer rooms per person, but more of the so-called household conveniences. Eighty-seven percent of the mill village families used electric lights. All of them could have had lights, but some of the more hard pressed had their lines disconnected. None of the families in which the husband farmed full time and his wife assisted on the farm had electric lights. Some families in each of the other three country-residing classes, however, had them. Due to the fact that power lines were available to few families, perhaps a comparison of the proportion in each class with congoletum rugs on the kitchen floor would be fairer. Seventy-one percent of the mill village families had congoletum or linoleum rugs on the kitchen floor. About 50 percent of the families residing in the country with wife industrially employed had them. Only 16 percent of the families in which the husband farmed full time and wife was a farm assistant and 18 percent in which he farmed part time and the wife was a farm assistant had this convenience.

The use to which the income is put is of major importance in any discussion of levels of living. Food is the budgetary item which took the largest proportion of the incomes of all classes in this study. Sixty-one percent of the total income of the families in which the husband farmed full time and his wife assisted on the farm and 47 percent of the total income of families in which the husband farmed part time and his wife assisted on the farm was used for food. The classes in which the wife was industrially employed spent relatively less of their income in this manner. The mill village families spent 42 percent, the industrial families in the country 38 percent, and the families in

which the husband farmed full time and his wife worked in industry spent 39 percent. The greater proportion of the total income for food of farm families may be explained in the first place by the much smaller incomes. Then, too, food may have been used more generously in the farm family, because most of it was farm furnished.

With the data now available, it is not possible to state which class was the best fed. Weekly median values of food consumed per food expenditure unit ranged from \$1.41 for families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives to \$2.16 for families in which the husband and wife were both industrially employed and resided in the country. These differences are not significant, however, as home produced food was given the monetary value of its selling price in the neighborhood, which was, in general, lower than the price of the same foods sold in town. The five classes of families studied varied in proportion of food furnished by the farm from 3 percent for the mill village family to 86 percent for the family with husband farming full time and wife assisting on the farm.

It is thought that the families of full-time and part-time farmers with farm assistant wives, even though with incomes of one-half to one-third less than the incomes of industrial families in mill villages and the open country, succeeded in having diets equally as good, if not better, than the latter. This statement is based on the fact that many of these families were visited around dinner time, when it was possible to see foods to be served or being served; and other supporting data, for instance, such as food produced on the farm, consisted largely of protective foods. It cost less per food expenditure unit to feed large families adequately. Farm families had had more training in food

selection than had industrial families. Members of families in which the husband farmed full time and the wife was engaged in industrial work were doubtless as well fed, if not more so, as were members of full or part-time farm families in which the wife assisted her husband. A large part of their food supply was produced on the farm. Then, too, more of this group had taken courses in Home Economics, which includes training in food selection.

Since the farm family produces most of its food supply, differences found in its consumption pattern and in the consumption pattern of industrial families in goods other than food would perhaps be more striking. A comparison of the per capita cash expenditures of the five classes indicates that this must be the case. The per capita cash expenses varied from \$39 in families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives to \$245 for mill village families. Families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives spent \$68 per person and those of full-time farmers with industrially employed wives \$147. Industrial families residing in the country spent \$208 per person.

The classes with the highest and lowest per capita cash expenses, or the mill village families, and the families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives were the classes who more often lived beyond their current incomes, as indicated by a decrease in net worth during the report year. Sixty-four per cent of the former group and 59 per cent of the latter group showed a decrease in net worth. The median decrease, however, was nearly three times greater for the mill village families. The members of these families having more income could secure more credit.

The principal cause of the decrease in net worth during the schedule year for both mill village families and families of

full-time farmers with farm assistant wives was the same; that is, failure to meet ordinary running expenses. Many of the mill village families got in debt during the summer of the schedule year when the mill was running short time. Many of the farm families anticipating a better income than they actually earned, made bills they could not pay in the schedule year. In fact, it is doubtful if some of the farm families could have lived on less, even though they had known what their income would be. These two classes of families, realizing what their situation would be in case of death in the family, were the classes which most often carried burial insurance. Eighty-four per cent of the industrial families in the village and 71 per cent of the families of full-time farmers and farm assistant wives had burial policies.

At the time of the study, 73 per cent of the mill village families were buying one or more articles on installment. Installment buying was uncommon among the country residing classes, being greatest (38 per cent) in industrial families, and least (8 per cent) in families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives. Installment buying accounted for the decrease in net worth of about 30 per cent of the mill village families; and of 2 per cent in the farm group. Mill village families undoubtedly have more pressure brought upon them to buy. Agents can more easily contact them.

During the schedule year, the number of families in the other three classes living within their current incomes far exceeded those living beyond their incomes. Seventy-three per cent of the families of full-time farmers and industrially employed wives, 68 per cent of the industrial families residing in the country, and 63 per cent of the families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives lived within

their current incomes. The shock of "short time" or "lay offs" is less for the country residing family, where a large part of the food supply can be produced at home. Then, too, these rural residents with part- or full-time non-agricultural work may be a more thrifty type. Many realize the impossibility of obtaining an adequate living from their poor soil farms, yet are not willing to give up the values of country living. On the other hand, the industrial worker who owns a home in a nearby rural area is more or less tied to the particular locality and is unable to profit by opportunities for more remunerative work in other localities.

The median increase in net worth was greater in the two farm classes in which the wife was industrially employed. These were the classes who more often carried life insurance. Many of the women in these families used a part of their earnings for buying land and a home. As a rule, they would save enough to build the main structure; ceiling, painting, and other so-called extras came later, as cash became available. Several homes were visited in which the family had moved in before sufficient money was obtained for partitioning, so great was the desire to get into their own home, yet with freedom from debt. In these classes one most often heard praise of the industrial program, and especially in families of full-time farmers with industrially employed wives. In one of these in which the wife had paid for the farm and home and was assisting in financing a soil building program, the husband expressed a desire for two or three such wives. The women in this class were young women with small families. Forty percent had no children, 37 percent had only one child. Many of them spoke of quitting the plant after they had reached certain goals. That some of them would

do this was evidenced by the fact that farm assistant wives with a history of industrial employment were found in these areas.

In any discussion of farm and industrial employment, the question of health naturally comes up. During the schedule year, the industrial families in the mill village and country had more illnesses per member of three days' duration or more than did families farming full time or part time. The number of illnesses of this duration, however, was not great in any group, nor did the groups vary very much in this respect. Families of full-time farmers with wives in industry had the fewest illnesses per member. Families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives ranked next. The family of the part-time farmer with the farm assistant wife, took third or middle place. The fact that there were fewer children in the families of the full-time farmer with industrially employed wives and more in families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives, would account at least in part for differences found in the farm classes.

The industrial families of this study usually carried medical insurance which entitled them to the services of the company physician when desired. Their median expense for medical care was \$20; the median expense for the families of full-time farmers with industrially employed wives and of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives was \$10; and the median expense for medical care of families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives was \$5. This measures in no way the median need for medical care of the latter group. Their out-of-door work, greater leisure, and farm produced food would reduce to some extent the need for medical care as compared with the need of industrial workers.

The number of families in this study belonging to organizations other than the church was almost negligible. Greatest church attendance was among the part-time farm families, 65 percent of the families of full-time farmers with industrially employed wives and 45 percent of the families of part-time farmers with farm assistant wives being regular church attendants. Industrial families attended church least. Only one-fourth attended regularly. Industrial workers had their own churches, the leaders, as a rule, being the overseers or supervisors in the plant. One-third of the families of full-time farmers with farm assistant wives attended church regularly. The limited participation of the farm group as compared with the part-time farm group was no doubt due largely to their lower economic status. Only 27 percent of them owned an automobile; about 50 percent of each of the other four classes owned automobiles. Then, too, the farm families' clothing was more often below social participation standards. Also, farm families had less cash to contribute to church activities.

During the schedule year, industrial families spent about three times more for reading matter than did part-time farm families, and about five times more than did farm families. The majority of industrial families took a daily paper. Many were readers of light fiction magazines and novels. Stories of this nature may have presented a stronger appeal to the industrial families because their education was somewhat more limited than was the education of the families who farmed full- or part-time. Comparatively few families farming full- or part-time subscribed to a daily paper. Reading material in many of these homes was limited to farm magazines. In some cases the subscription had been paid for in corn or poultry.

The median cash expenditures for recreation by the industrial families amounted to about \$10, by the part-time farm families to about \$5, and by the farm families to about \$1.50. Recreation expenditures included for the most part expenditures for commercial entertainments, such as movies, fairs, radios and radio supplies, children's toys, and hunting licenses and hunting supplies. Farm families rarely attended the movies, whereas attendance in a number of industrial families was quite frequent. Ownership of radios was more common among mill village families, or the highest cash expenditure class (62 percent having radios) and less common among full-time farmers with farm assistant wives, or the lowest cash expenditure class (12 percent having radios).

It was the purpose of this report to draw some contrasts in the levels of living of farm, part-time farm, and industrial families in poor agricultural areas of Mississippi. From the data examined, it would seem that the part-time farm group was better off. They had an advantage over the farm group in a larger cash income and over the industrial group in a generous supply of home produced food largely composed of protective foods which are necessary for good health. They participated more in social organizations of the community as evidenced by their attendance at church, the principal social institution of the area. As a group they were a thrifty lot. Relatively few showed a decrease in net worth during the schedule year. This was especially true of families in which the husband farmed full time and his wife was industrially employed. The majority of wives in this class were young women assisting their husbands in getting established on the farm. They were the class with the most schooling—the class with the greatest number of goals.

From the viewpoint of business men in

these local villages, the mill village families perhaps rated first place for they were spenders. In other words, they made good business. That industrial families spending more than their current income should be so largely concentrated in the village may be due to the fact that some of the more thrifty industrial families move off the mill grounds where they can have a home of their own. Industrial families residing in the country produce some of their food supply which, of course, cushions the ill effects of "short time" and "lay offs."

In a money economy such as ours, in which so many of the desired goods and

services can be had only by cash expenditures, it is not surprising that, with cash incomes of around \$30 per capita per year, farm families in poor soil areas should seek non-agricultural work to supplement their low incomes, or in many cases give up farming altogether and move to the village. There is need for industries, which can easily be combined with farming to be dispersed throughout such areas. Industrial families in villages and towns are in urgent need of some intensive training in family finance. Many have moved from a nonmoney to a money economy and need to be taught the use of the dollar.

CONFERENCE ON THE CONSERVATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Professor Ernest R. Groves has announced that the Sixth Annual Conference on the Conservation of Marriage and the Family will be held at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, April 9-12, 1940. The program is now being prepared. One of the evening addresses will be given by Dr. Robert L. Dickinson. The attendance is limited to 200 and invitations will be issued in February.

GRADUATE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

An important contribution to the cooperative program of Duke University and the University of North Carolina for the graduate training of teachers in marriage and the family is a seminar in medical sociology conducted by specialists in the Duke Medical School under the direction of Dr. Bayard Carter, Head of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology. This course, the value of which has been demonstrated, is believed to be the first of its kind ever offered by any medical school in the United States. Eight of those now enrolled are college teachers.

Information regarding the graduate cooperative program may be had by writing either Professor Howard E. Jensen, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, or Professor Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE COURTS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF NEGROES IN MARYLAND

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AMONG the occupational discriminations from which the Negro in Maryland has suffered may be listed legal exclusion from the right to practice law, and almost complete exclusion, in practice, from employment in the field of public service and the armed forces of the State. There is also widespread discrimination in the pay which they receive in that branch of the government in which they most frequently find employment, i.e., the school system. In Baltimore city there are no Negro firemen nor are Negroes employed as librarians, even in those branches of the Enoch Pratt Free Public Library which are located in colored neighborhoods. In view of the general level of the occupations in which Negroes find employment, occupational discrimination is fraught with serious possibilities for the group. It is, therefore, not strange that Negroes in Maryland have sought to open new fields of employment for themselves. This is the more natural since occupational mobility is characteristic of the American competitive spirit.

The first effort to use the Courts as a means of wiping out occupational dis-

crimination in Maryland came as a result of the attempt of Negroes to have themselves admitted to the practice of law. Under the terms of the Act of 1876, chapter 246, section 3 of the laws of Maryland, the privilege of practicing law was limited to white male citizens who were at least twenty-one years of age. In 1877 a Mr. Taylor of Massachusetts applied for the right to practice law before the courts of Baltimore city. His petition was denied on the ground that the laws of Maryland did not confer this privilege, as a matter of right, upon Negroes. He, therefore, carried his case to the Maryland Court of Appeals, claiming that the State in refusing to allow him to practice at bar, denied him a right guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The Court of Appeals refused his application, December 21, 1877 and in justification for so doing took the following position:

The privilege of admission to the office of an attorney is not a right or immunity belonging to citizens within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States but is governed by the legislature which may prescribe the qualifications and designate the class of persons who may be admitted. The power

of regulating the admission of attorneys to the Courts belongs to the State and not to the Federal Government.¹

Those who refused to accept the decision of the Maryland Court of Appeals as final were ministers—not lawyers. Their leader, the Rev. Mr. Harvey Johnson, was a student of jurisprudence as well as of theology. The partial victory in the case of *The Sue*, with which he was associated, encouraged him to test again the validity of the laws which excluded Negro attorneys from the right to practice their profession. He, therefore, interested the Rev. W. C. Lawson, the Rev. F. R. Williams, and the Rev. J. C. Allen in helping him to finance a test case.

Mr. Charles Wilson, a teacher at Sunnyside, Maryland, who was also a colored member of the Massachusetts bar, agreed to stand as petitioner in the application to the bar of Baltimore city. His sponsors secured the services of Mr. Alexander Hobbes, a prominent Baltimore attorney, to represent him in the petition. When the matter was finally heard, the Supreme Bench of Baltimore decided that as far as the jurisdiction of that Court extended and was concerned, there was no reason for excluding qualified men of color from practicing their profession within its jurisdiction.²

The Baltimore Sun, an independent democratic newspaper, expressed itself as being in agreement with the decision of the Supreme Bench. After commenting on the unusual attention which the case of Charles S. Wilson had attracted in Maryland and in other states, the editor ob-

served: (1) that the State bar examination either was or should be made stringent enough to keep inefficient persons from practicing law. (2) that the failure of the legal profession to avail itself of the legal talent which existed in one-fifth of the State's population was of extremely doubtful value; (3) that there was no reason why white lawyers should be protected against the rivalry of Negro lawyers when all other industries are open to the colored race; (4) that there should be no fear born of the excesses of the Reconstruction Period in the South that Negroes who were not qualified might become judges by saying that for obvious reasons if a Negro became a judge in Maryland he would be an unusually intelligent person.

The editorial continued:

The whole matter may be briefly summed up. The practice of law is a pursuit which men take up for a livelihood. Its nature is such that only skillful men can be safely allowed to follow it, but any man who can prove himself in mind and conscience up to the standard prescribed by law should be free to make a living out of it.³

Gilbert Stephenson cites the case of Mr. Taylor in *Race Distinctions in American Law*. He also notes the fact that Negroes are now admitted to the practice of law but found it difficult to explain how this change came about.⁴ The removal of the white provision so far as the Bar of Balti-

¹ "Admission of Colored Lawyers to the Bar," an editorial from *The Baltimore Sun*, republished in *The Lancet*, Petersburg, Va., Mar. 2, 1888.

⁴ Gilbert Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law* (New York & London: D. Appleton & Co., 1915), p. 29. On this point Stephenson says: "In the latest collection of Maryland Laws, however, that of 1904, no mention is made of race in the prescribed qualifications of the bar, but no expressed repeal has been found in the law of 1872, which limited the privilege of practicing law to white males. The presumption is, however, that Maryland, in common with other states, now admits Negro applicants on the same terms as white."

¹ *In re Taylor*, 48 Md. 28 [1877]. Legal precedent for this position was found in *Bradwell v. State* 16 Wall. 162 in which the Supreme Court of the United States affirmed the judgment of the Supreme Court of Illinois in refusing to allow Mrs. Bradwell the right to practice before it, on account of sex.

² Warner T. McGuinn, *The Brotherhood of Liberty*, MMS, pp. 12-13.

more city is concerned was the result of the decision handed down by the Supreme Bench of Baltimore city in the Wilson case which we have just cited. Its removal from the law of the State grew out of the recodification of the State laws by the Honorable John P. Poe.

The most widely known of the recent attempts of Baltimore Negroes to increase the range of their employment occurred in 1933 and grew out of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement. According to Lucius Harper,⁵ this campaign to use purchasing power as a means of increasing employment was started in Chicago, Illinois in 1928 by James Hale Porter and A. C. O'Neal, who were at that time co-editors of *The Chicago Whip*. These gentlemen had sought to encourage the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, one of the largest insurers of Negro risks, to employ Negro agents. The Company had just replied that it was unable to see the necessity of employing colored agents, when an opportunity to help Negroes secure work occurred in Chicago.

Big Bill Tate, a Negro prize-fighter, was engaged in forming a union among colored butchers. He also sought to widen the range of their employment by having them placed in stores of Chicago's South Side. Many proprietors objected to the use of Negro butchers and asserted that Negroes themselves would not patronize clerks or butchers who were members of their own race. *The Whip* took up the fight in behalf of the butchers' union and published the names of stores which refused to hire its members.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Lucius Harper, the present Production Manager of *The Chicago Defender* for the facts stated above. He was a member of the staff of *The Whip* when that paper existed and was one of the organizers of the campaign.

Butcher shops were picketed. Stores which were suspected of robbing their patrons through using short weights were reported to the City Sealer's office. The butcher shops capitulated and Negro butchers were employed.

The campaign was then extended to the entire Negro district. The Woolworth Stores, following the use of the picket line, employed Negroes. The leaders of the movement also persuaded the managers of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, Kroger's and Walgreen's Drug Company that it would be to their business advantage to hire colored help. Today, according to Jesse O. Thomas, executive secretary of the southeastern branch of the Urban League, merchants who open business on Chicago's South Side employ some Negro help as a matter of course.⁶

"The Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work" movement became popular and spread to Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Washington. One reason for the rapidity of its spread is the limited field for the employment of Negro white collar workers and high school graduates. It is also true that many of the businesses in America which profit from the patronage of Negroes give them little employment in return.

The situation described above has given rise to what Dr. Abram L. Harris has described as the purchasing power theory of employment. This theory of employment holds that, as the merchants subsist upon profits which are drawn from the consumers, the consumers have a right, through being gainfully employed by them, to share in the employers' operating costs. The same authority also contends that this theory of employment has won

⁶ Personal interview with Jesse O. Thomas, June 6, 1936.

an ever increasing number of adherents among Negroes since the depression.⁷

The attempt to have Negroes employed as clerks in the stores in Negro neighborhoods of Baltimore was started by a young Negro, Tony Green, who came to Baltimore in August 1933. He subsequently became known as the prophet Kiowa Costonie. In conjunction with his program of faith-healing he also gave lectures on the subject of race pride and economics. Costonie first demonstrated his ability as a leader by carrying some four hundred thirty-seven prospective voters to the registration office and having them declare their intention to become voters. Later he held free classes for children and adolescents, in which they were taught race pride and given prizes for essays on great Negroes. Some fourteen hundred adolescents enrolled. His next move was to

lead a group of young Negroes in requesting that the American Grocery Stores should employ Negro clerks. The management yielded to this request and twenty-two clerks were given employment.⁸

The A. & P. Stores were then approached by Costonie and members of a group known as The Citizens Committee who promised to boost the business of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company among Negroes if the company in turn agreed to hire colored clerks. Eight were employed. Some two or three weeks later they were discharged because of alleged inefficiency and white boys were put in their places. In behalf of The Citizens Committee, Costonie made the following demands as of November 2, 1935: (1) every store in colored neighborhoods to have all colored employees except managers—calls for thirty-four men; (2) by January 1 we want colored managers in these stores; (3) all boys who were hired Saturday must be entirely dismissed.⁹

The stores of the A. & P. Company were picketed by the Negro clerks who had been discharged and the general manager granted the demands of The Citizens Committee.

Following this success, and upon the refusal of their managers to employ Negro salesgirls in fairly large numbers, members of The National Housewives League, The Housewives League and The City-wide Young People's Forum, an organization of Negroes interested in the employment opportunities of the race, began on December 9, 1933 to picket the Tommy Tucker Five and Ten Cent Store, The

⁷ Cf. Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist*, Monograph No. 2 (Philadelphia: The Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936), p. 179. Mr. Holsey of The Colored Merchants Association estimates that if the four or five billion dollars which Negroes spend annually were spent for products handled by Negroes through wholesale and retail channels there would be created overnight 400,000 jobs as a part of our frontal attack to break through the economic deadline which we are facing today. See his address before The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, Jackson, Miss., July 1929. Also Harris, *The Negro as Capitalist*, chap. v.

While Dr. Eugene Kinckle Jones did not specifically mention the question of employment when he was chief of the division of Negro Affairs in the United States Department of Commerce, he graphically pictured the extent of the Negroes' purchasing power by showing that the \$308,000,000 which 890,000 Negroes spend in 17 of the South's largest cities exceeds the \$224,619,486 export trade to Mexico and Central America from the United States and is not many million dollars less than our \$374,851,619 export trade to the Argentine, Chile and Brazil. Cf. *Domestic Commerce*, Vol. XV, No. 1, issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the United States Department of Commerce (Washington, January 10, 1935), p. 1.

⁸ *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, Dec. 23, 1933.

⁹ Demands cited in Opinion of Court of Appeals of Maryland, No. 27, January term 1935, *The Daily Record*, Baltimore, April 10, 1935.

Green Dress Shop, and The Dolly Dimple Shop, all of which are located in a colored neighborhood.¹⁰

Although there were never more than fifteen official pickets, school children who joined with them and counter-pickets, who were said to have been employed by the owners of the store, produced something of a crowd which was, however, kept reasonably orderly and constantly on the move by the police. This boycott of the merchants proved quite effective as was evidenced by the paralysis of their business. It practically disappeared.

The owners of the stores sought and were granted a temporary injunction which, in sweeping language, enjoined Costonic, twenty-seven others, and three organizations known as the National Housewives League, The Housewife-League and the Young People's Forums from interfering in any way with the complainants' businesses.¹¹ The defendants made a motion to dismiss the injunction and as an answer was filed, the case was heard before the late Judge Albert J. Owens who had issued the original restraining Order. Negroes showed great interest in the case. They attended the hearing in large numbers and so vigorously applauded one of their witnesses, the Rev. Mr. Coates, that the attorneys for the defendants feared that the court might become prejudiced against their case.

Judge Owens made the injunction permanent. In doing so he said that it was inconceivable that the defendants, who

were persons of the highest type, well educated and essentially religious, could have been misled into believing that for any cause, however commendable, they could justify their action in the case. He, therefore, defined the action of Costonic, Misses Jackson, Bond et al., as criminal conspiracy as it is defined in the common law and in so doing based his authority on an old case, *State v. Buchanan*, which was decided in 1821. In that case the Court held that only those acts done in a dispute between an employer and his workmen were exempted from a charge of conspiracy where the acts would not be punishable if committed by one person.¹² He further contended that to give an organized group the power to limit the employer in the exercise of his right to employ persons of his own choice, without respect to their racial identity would be to rob him of that inalienable and elemental freedom for the protection of which government is created.¹³

There were vigorous reactions to this ruling, although the white press did not greatly concern itself.

Clarence Mitchell, a graduate of Lincoln University, credited Judge Owens with being able to see the right of the business man to conduct his business as he sees fit and of the worker to have some say about the conditions under which he worked.

¹² *State v. Buchanan*, 5 H. & T. 37 1821 cited in *Aaron Samuelson v. Tony Green et al.* *The Daily Record*, Baltimore, Sat., May 26, 1934.

¹³ Circuit Court of Baltimore City, Filed May 24, 1934, *Aaron Samuelson trading as Tommy Tucker & 10 Cent Store et al. v. Tony Green, otherwise known as Kiowa Costonic et al.* *The Daily Record*, Baltimore, May 26, 1934. See also the opinion of the Supreme Court of Connecticut in *State v. Gilden* 55 Con. 49 for a sentiment relied upon by Judge Owens. The Connecticut Court condemned an attempt of a large body of working men "to control by means, little better if any than force, the action of employers."

¹⁰ *Appellee's Brief*, in the Maryland Court of Appeals, General Docket No. 27 and No. 28, January term 1935.

¹¹ For a summary of the facts in the case see Court of Appeals of Maryland No. 27, January Term 1935, *Tony Green et al. v. Aaron Samuelson*, *The Daily Record*, Baltimore, April 10, 1935.

But the right of a customer in the determining of employment policy was an unknown and fearsome factor in his equation, one which he finally decided had no place there at all. . . . He did not administer justice in the case but I do believe that he tried to administer the law. His knowledge of the law, however, is not such as teaches him to weigh the forces of hunger, moral decay, idealism, and the lack of employment when making a decision.

In advising Negroes to appeal the case, Mr. Mitchell concluded that the case is no longer a matter of colored people and white merchants over jobs. It has become a precedent which will be a handicap to all future picketing in Baltimore and the entire country.¹⁴

Frank N. Trager, teacher of philosophy at Johns Hopkins University and president of The People's Unemployment League, in urging The Citizens Committee to appeal from the decision of Judge Owens, said that there was nothing new in the sustaining of injunctions which deprive workers who are also consumers of their civil and legal rights. He drew a distinction between the primary boycott which is leveled against certain types of commodities and the secondary boycott which refuses to do business with the whole business unit. Specific attention was called to the fact that Norman Thomas used the secondary boycott against Macy & Company of New York because that store was selling Nazi-made goods. The chancellor's claim that the case was without legal precedent was, therefore, cited to show that he was either ignorant of or indifferent to history.¹⁵

The editor of *The Afro-American* reminded Negroes, pending an appeal of the case, that the mind in the final analysis controls the individual's purse strings, that the injunction had taught a large

number of Negroes to think before, rather than after, spending their money. "While physical pickets may be restrained from their vigil there is yet no law against thinking."¹⁶

The Citizens Committee and Citywide Young People's Forum decided to appeal the case. Meetings were held in the churches, and the necessary funds were raised. During these meetings Negroes were reminded that the Brotherhood of Liberty, an organization composed largely of Maryland Negroes, had established a tradition for this approach to the problem.

The sources from which funds were reported indicated the wide nature of the appeal. Miss Lillian Jackson, chairman of The Citizens Committee and one of the appellants in the case, reported subscriptions to the amount of two hundred dollars; another club, the Social Senate contributed twenty-five dollars; The Opportunity Makers Club, a group of high school graduates who were interested in broadening the field of employment, reported ninety-five dollars; The Citywide Young People's Forum contributed twenty dollars. When the one hundred dollars which was promised by the central office of The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was added to subscriptions from all other sources, the sum of eight hundred dollars was reported at a mass meeting in the Sharp Street Methodist Church.¹⁷

The attorneys for the appellees in presenting their case to the court claimed: (1) that this was a racial and not an economic matter; (2) that the effects of the boycott would be the displacement of white by Negro employees; (3) that Negroes were violating the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Maryland and the

¹⁴ Clarence Mitchel, "Law v. Rights," *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, June 16, 1934.

¹⁵ "Judge Owens is Rapped by Local League," *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, June 16, 1934.

¹⁶ "No Injunction Against Thinking," *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, June 2, 1934.

¹⁷ *The Afro-American*, June 16, 1934.

13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Federal Constitution since they were seeking not only to discriminate against white persons but to accomplish this discrimination through intimidation and fear; (4) that Negroes sought to force stores in their neighborhoods to employ a personnel which was entirely colored and, in the process of enforcing their demands, they and their friends obstructed the free passage of persons along the streets, menaced the public peace, and at times almost tended to create a riot.¹⁸

They made much of the race question as the following quotation from their brief shows:

Appellants here assert, as they did time and time again in the lower courts, their right to attain their ends on the basis of race and color. And it does not make a particle of difference that this insidious program of appeal to racial prejudice was carried on in a Negro neighborhood. These agitators, I am painfully conscious that this epithet is always bestowed upon those who would improve the condition of the Negro, make no pretense about the basis on which they claim to have a right to pursue their objectives. They have maintained in and out of court, that Negroes as such have the right to insist upon securing certain types of employment because Negroes must patronize the stores in which Negroes are not employed.

If this position were a sound one, and these contentions were sustained, the inevitable consequence would be the opening of the floodgates and loosing of a torrent of race, religious and class prejudices and hatreds. Business, industry and commerce would be halted, property rights would be destroyed and orderly constitutional government rendered a mockery and a delusion.¹⁹

Conceding the fact that the problem of securing employment for the Negro is

¹⁸ *Tony Green, otherwise known as Kiowa Costonise, and also known as Prophet Costonise et al. v. Aaron Samuelson, Trading as Tommy Tucker 5 & 10 Cent Stores, Max Meyers, trading as Goodman's and Samuel Silverman and Harry Silverman, trading as Silverman Brothers.* In the Court of Appeals of Maryland, Jan. term., 1935. General Docket, Nos. 27-28. *Appellee's Brief*, pp. 5-12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

serious and their motives praiseworthy, since no one could deny their right to point out to an indifferent world the economic handicaps from which they suffered, they concluded that Negroes might not use force and intimidation to secure their ends. The Court of Appeals was, therefore, asked to sustain the injunction of the Circuit Court of Appeals of Baltimore city.

The appellants regarded the case as economic rather than racial. They did not make an issue of the race question but their attorney did charge in arguing the appeal that the opposition had injected the racial angle into the case in order to lend false color to it. In brief, and in argument, appellants sought to show:

1. That the type of boycott which uses persuasion and other peaceful means to encourage people to withhold their patronage from a business is legal.²⁰

2. That the existence of a labor dispute is not the only legal requisite of peaceful picketing. The case of *Julie Baking Company v. Graymond* was cited as sustaining this point of view. In that case Mr. Justice Hofstater refused to enjoin consumers who were picketing The Julie Bakery and in so doing said:

The right of an individual or group of individuals to protest in a peaceful manner against injustice or oppression, actual or merely fancied, is one to be cherished and not proscribed in any well ordered society.²¹

3. That the position of the Circuit Court that the action of the picketers constituted criminal conspiracy was not based upon fact but upon the principle that at common law all picketing whether

²⁰ *Appellant's Brief*, In the Court of Appeals of Maryland, Jan. term 1935. General Docket No. 27, pp. 13-14. *Cooley on Torts* (2d ed.), pp. 278-688 cited.

²¹ *Julie Baking Company v. Graymond*, 274 N.Y.S. No. 2, cited *Appellant's Brief*, p. 21.

in a labor dispute or otherwise was a criminal conspiracy. The Circuit Court, it was contended, placed a narrow, rather than a historical construction upon this statute. Early American decisions, as a result of an inheritance of five centuries of English conspiracy statutes and decisions, held that labor unions formed for the purpose of raising wages were illegal conspiracies. Mr. Chief Justice Shaw in 1842 limited the application of the conspiracy doctrine in American law in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, by laying down the principle that the legality of an association, where the purpose is lawful, depends upon the means which it uses in accomplishing its ends.²² The opinion of the Chief Justice was held to recognize the precise objective of the colored pickets at Bar, since he recognized the right of customers to band themselves together for the purpose of boosting a competing merchant, when those with whom it had been their habit to deal, refused to grant their requests.

4. Appellants also asserted that the right of a man to employ whom he pleases and to carry on his business as he sees fit as long as he violates no law, as laid down by Judge McSherry in *Maryland v. Alt.* 100 Md. 238 and relied upon by Judge Owens, was not superior but complementary to another right recognized by the same Judge McSherry in the later case of *Klingles Pharmacy v. Sharp and Dohme*, 104 Md. 232, the right of every man to refuse business relations for reason or no reason.²³

5. The appellants also claimed that the Circuit Court had exceeded its jurisdiction in granting an injunction the terms of which were so sweeping that it re-

strained them from performing acts which are unquestionably lawful.²⁴

Judge Sloan in speaking for the Court found that the charges of physical violence and conspiracy which were brought against the pickets were unsupported by evidence. He decided, however, that the question at issue was a racial or social question and that the rules which were applicable in the case of a labor dispute had no bearing upon it.

Apparently the Court was impressed with two factors in the situation, the fact that Costonic had resorted to intimidation and threats to enforce his demand and the possible effects of the decision upon other portions of the city.²⁵

The general purpose of colored persons to improve the conditions of their race may not be improper but they must adopt lawful means and not resort to intimidation and threats which may easily lead to breaches of the peace and physical violence.²⁶

And again:

If we say what was being done on the seventeenth block on Pennsylvania Avenue was proper, then it can be done in any other block in the city. There cannot be one law for Pennsylvania Avenue and another for streets where the white race predominates and trade and the Courts, in laying down a rule of conduct, must not only consider what has been done but what may be done by consequence of it.²⁷

The Court of Appeals affirmed the decree of the lower court in the matter of picketing. Before so doing, it succinctly set forth the defendants' rights in the premise which included the unquestionable right

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

²⁵ Goodman testified that Costonic, Elvira Bond and Lillian Jackson had threatened them. Costonic denied using threats on the stand but apparently did not impress the Court with his testimony.

²⁶ Cf. Opinion of Court of Appeals of Maryland, *Tony Green et al. v. Aaron Samuelson, Max Meyers and Samuel Silverman & Harry Silverman*. *The Daily Record*, Baltimore, Wed., April 10, 1935, p. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²² *Commonwealth v. Hunt et al.*, 4 mets. 111 [1842] pp. 123-124 cited *Appellant's Brief*, p. 24.

²³ *Appellant's Brief*, p. 27.

to publish their grievance in the newspapers and to distribute circulars in a peaceful manner and with no attempt at coercion.

They were also free to employ organization, hold public meetings, and use propaganda and personal solicitation both as a means of influencing white employers to hire colored clerks and as a means of persuading Negroes to confine their trade to employers who acceded to their wishes. The Court clearly saw that the success or failure of the use of any of these means would be determined by the willingness and ability of the consumers to cooperate and it frankly so declared in quoting *My Maryland Lodge v. Adt.* 100 Md. 238-239: "If ruin to the employer results from the peaceable assertion of these rights it is a damage without remedy."²⁸

It is interesting that in a later case, the U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that the attempt of the New Negro Alliance to force the Sanitary Grocery Company to employ colored clerks and managers in some of its stores located in Washington, D. C. is a labor dispute within the meaning of Section C of the Norris-LaGuardia Act and that hence a Federal court could not lawfully enjoin the peaceful picketing of the Alliance.²⁹ It ruled moreover that the mere presence of the racial factor in the controversy was not sufficient to remove the case from the scope of the Act. Of the whole contention the Court said:

Thus the nature of the dispute and the interest of the parties brings the case squarely within the Act unless as suggested by the District Court and by one of the justices of the Court of Appeals, the case is taken out of the Act by the fact that the dispute is

racial. We think this cannot be so. In the first place, the Act does not concern itself with the background or motives of the dispute. In the second place, the desire for fair and equitable condition of employment on the part of persons of any race, color or persuasion, and the removal of discrimination against them by reason of their race or religious beliefs is quite as important to those concerned as fairness and equity in terms and conditions of employment can be to trade or craft unions or any other form of labor organization. *Race discrimination by an employer may reasonably be deemed more unfair and less excusable than discrimination against workers on the ground of union affiliation.* There is no justification in the apparent purposes or expressed terms of the Act for limiting its definition of labor disputes and cases arising therefrom by excluding those which arise with respect to discrimination in terms and conditions of employment based upon difference of race or color.³⁰

The recognition of this point has given legal standing to the use of the picket line, in those States having "little Norris-LaGuardia Acts" and has placed in the hands of Negroes an effective means of crashing the color line through pressure which may be exerted directly by consumers. It has also made it possible for them to substitute collective action through entering into agreements with employing groups. Thus in addition to the eighty Negroes who were employed by Blumstein's Department Store and W. T. Grant Company in Harlem's 125th Street as a direct result of "The Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement, the decision of the United States Supreme Court made it possible for the Greater New York Coordinating Committee for Employment after a day's picketing to enter into an agreement with the Uptown Chamber of Commerce as a result of which the Chamber promised that one-third of the white collar positions in the Harlem stores would as speedily as possible be

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Note section C of the Norris-La Guardia Act defines a labor dispute as "any controversy concerning terms of employment regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relationship of employer and employee."

³⁰ Supreme Court of the United States No. 511 Oct. Term 1937. *The New Negro Alliance v. Sanitary Grocery Co., Inc.* decided March 28, 1938. Italics my own.

filled with Negro replacements. As a result of this effort four hundred fifty Negroes have obtained employment in business establishments and stores which are operated by white men in Harlem.³¹

It is difficult to appraise the influence of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work Movement." Unfortunately there are few figures which give a quantitative picture of its effects upon the employment of the Negro. In addition to the figures given for New York City, the most liberal estimate places the number of those who obtained employment in Chicago at 4,100 clerks and managers. The movement had some success in Philadelphia. One of the large dairies employs colored delivery men and collectors in Negro neighborhoods. In Baltimore, the American Grocery Company and the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company employ sixty-six clerks and managers. The merchants who secured the injunction employ a few Negroes as clerks for the purpose of attracting trade. Interviews and observation confirm the fact that the owner of taverns in Negro neighborhoods who do not employ Negroes as managers, bar-keepers, and waiters are exceptions, rather than the rule. Less than seventy-five clerks are reported to have secured employment in Washington, D. C.³²

Although the masses supported the picketing and were observed to refrain from buying from the Stores of The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, the movement failed in Richmond, Virginia. Two causes are assigned for this by Mr. Wiley A. Hall, executive secretary of the

Richmond Urban League, who was active in seeking to have the chain store employ Negroes as clerks: (1) the struggle for leadership of the movement within the Negro group; (2) the premature use of the picket line while negotiations were pending with the general manager of the Richmond stores.

The struggle to have Negro clerks employed is still in the realm of uncertainty in Atlanta, Georgia. Eleven clerks are employed by the A. & P. Stores in Montgomery, Alabama.³³ Mr. James A. Jackson reported, when head of the Division of Small Business of the United States Department of Commerce, that the practice of employing Negroes in the business located in colored neighborhoods has been increasing over a period of ten years. According to the same authority practically every branch of merchandising is included. The geographic distribution of the eighty-seven cities in which Negroes find some employment ranges from Boston, Massachusetts, to Portland, Oregon, and from Atlanta, Georgia, to Houston, Texas and Los Angeles, California.³⁴

It is equally difficult to be sure about the extent to which the movement will lead to the displacement of those Negro workers who are employed in sections of cities in which Negroes spend little money. Apparently this did not happen in Chicago, the city in which the movement has enjoyed its greatest success. Lucius Harper indicates that during the campaign which *The Whip* conducted, rumors of the displacement of Negro employees in white neighborhoods were run down and proved groundless. The replies of some of the white people interviewed indicated that

³¹ The text of Memorandum of Agreement, July 20, 1938, may be had by writing Greater New York City Coördinating Committee for Employment, 132 W. 138th Street, New York City. The Committee is composed of 207 affiliated organizations under the leadership of Rev. Adam Powell. Mr. Arnold Johnson, 209 W. 125th Street, is Executive Secretary.

³² Abram L. Harris, interview.

³³ Jesse O. Thomas—Interview, also correspondence with Reginald A. Johnson, Secretary of the Atlanta Branch of the National Urban League, May 1936.

³⁴ *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, Oct. 29, 1932.

they regarded the demand of the Negro population as natural since the merchants on the South Side were making their money out of Negro trade.³⁵ There were rumors that Negro domestics were displaced in Baltimore but facts to substantiate these claims were not forthcoming. The Reid survey noted a decline in the number of Negroes employed in domestic service but the reason assigned for this fact was the relative advantage afforded by relief, as over against the long hours and exploitive wages afforded by domestic service.³⁶

The idea still prevails among some Baltimore Negroes that the use of the pressure of purchasing power can go a long way toward alleviating the Negro's lack of employment in some fields. Thus Mr. Carl Murphy, the editor of *The Afro-American*, advises Negroes to face the fact that they are living in an age in which mergers and corporations are the order of the day. Prejudice and tradition force the Negro to combine for common advancement. The group is, therefore, urged to practice the cooperation of which it has been talking for so many years. After citing Baltimore as a city whose one hundred forty-two thousand Negroes spend a million dollars monthly while receiving little in the way of employment or ownership as a result, and asking whether Negroes would be able to employ as many as one hundred of the three thousand boys and girls who annually finish high school, he continues.

In Baltimore we have two hundred sixteen Protestant Churches selling futures in heaven on Sunday and less than ten grocery stores selling bacon, bread and meal from Monday through Saturday night . . . in

³⁵ Correspondence, Lucius Harper.

³⁶ Ira De A. Reid, "The Negro Community of Baltimore," a Social Study Conducted for the Baltimore Urban League through *Department of Research, National Urban League*, (Baltimore, Md. 1935), p. 13.

short we are living the old individual, the every man for himself existence while others are forming combinations and cooperative organizations. Let us wash our faces with the cold reality of the present and wake up to the new groupism which is spread over these materialistic United States. Let us stop singing the hard times ditty and begin helping ourselves by marshalling and using the money we have to the best of our advantage. Look around you and count the colored persons where you spend your money. If you don't see any or only a few in the most menial positions, then the fault is in you and your neighbor.³⁷

The "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement gained prestige as a result of the Baltimore trial largely because the Court of Appeals recognized the right of Negroes to improve their employment opportunities through the use of purchasing power as long as they did not resort to violence in so doing. Negro leaders, who have given some thought to the matter are, however, not agreed as to the advisability of its use. Dr. Abram L. Harris of the Department of Economics of Howard University, having made an extended study of Negro business, opposes the movement because it is self-defeating in the method which it forces a minority group to employ, and also because it tends to widen the breach between colored and white workers, since it will end in the displacement of white workers.³⁸ One of its end results, the substitution of a black for a white bourgeoisie does not impress him as representing a substantial gain for the masses of the race.³⁹ The movement is also condemned because it strengthens the forces of a segregated economy and leads Negroes into a position of "extreme racial chauvinism toward racial minorities,"

³⁷ "Let's Stop to Think," *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, Jan. 4, 1936. Cf. also "One in a Million," *Journal and Guide*, Norfolk, Aug. 8, 1936, for a similar point of view.

³⁸ Harris, op. cit., pp. 180-182.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

a social aspect which is regarded as most unfortunate.⁴⁰

The late James Weldon Johnson, on the other hand, did not dismiss the movement as an impossible solution of the economic problems of the race. He insisted that it would be a sounder policy for Negro Americans to obliterate the color line in employment. The fact is recognized, nevertheless, that the insistence upon the withdrawal of the color line, in the absence of power to back up the demand, is little more than a plea. Dr. Johnson, therefore, concluded that the race should not resort to the boycott unless its industrial experts are convinced that it is ready for its use and, hence, that there is more to gain than to lose from its use. In the event of its use, he quite logically observed, it should be thoroughly organized and intelligently directed. It should not be left to ignorance, enthusiasm, indignation or prejudice.⁴¹

Mr. George Schuyler, while thinking still of the use of purchasing power as a means of improving the employment situation of the Negro, suggests that the pressure could be applied through consumers' cooperation on the basis of interracial cooperation rather than in a segregated black economy to which the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement may lead.⁴²

Where carried to the extreme of insisting that white business enterprise shall employ only colored employees in the neighborhoods in which Negroes live the demand of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement becomes a

plea for alternative economic segregation, a demand which it is difficult to justify in an interdependent world. The demand that white business which accepts the patronage of Negroes shall give them some employment other than in the most menial positions and at the lowest wages is in the final analysis a question of the application of the democratic principles to business. As long as the present system remains, the demand is on a level with the demand that Negroes shall be included in all branches of the labor movement. Whether the race can best promote its ends by erasing the color line in business, or seeking a more complete integration in the labor movement, or by doing both, is a question of the most effective means. The end which is sought remains the same, i.e., to gain, for the Negro, employment which shall be widespread and lucrative enough to sustain healthful and decent living.

The foregoing discussion shows that the solution of the problem may not be simple. It also raises the pertinent question whether the struggle for bourgeois rights, on the part of a minority of the Negro group, may not unnecessarily expose its members to the influence of a cultural lag which it can avoid. It is well recognized that under our present system the concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer people makes it more difficult for the man of small means to succeed as a business enterpriser. The disappearance of the public domain means on the other hand a lessened opportunity for individuals to acquire sudden wealth through exploiting unclaimed natural resources. These factors, taken together, mean that the average American is more likely to become an industrial worker in the future, than was true in the past. If this is so the Negro should do well to

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* For the tendency of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement to strengthen the forces of a segregated black economy, see "Business in Bronzeville," *Time*, April 18, 1938.

⁴¹ James Weldon Johnson, *Negro Americans—What Now?* (New York: Viking Press, 1935), pp. 70-73.

⁴² Geo. S. Schuyler, "Views and Reviews," *Pittsburgh Courier*, Pittsburgh, Pa., Aug. 8, 1936.

recognize the fact and align himself with the labor movement.⁴³

The difficulty to which the pursuit of bourgeois ideals may give rise is complicated by another difficulty which confronts the Negro. In large areas of the country, and especially in the South, labor organizations do not admit or are reluctant to admit Negroes. When they therefore attempt to align themselves with the workers, they come face to face with the fact that race prejudice causes labor unions to disregard the solidarity of labor upon which they are based. The results, since they leave a large unorganized labor supply to compete with the unions, are harmful to all labor. The excluded Negro group suffers in particular since it is the victim of ruthless exploitation.

Because of these facts, the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement has its appeal, as well as its dangers. Faced

with unemployment and discrimination the Negro masses are moved by a desire for job security. They are, therefore, led to cooperate with those whose business aspirations will be served by the successful functioning of the movement. Both groups rally to the same slogans and catch phrases but for different reasons. Immediately the aspirations of the masses and the middle class operate to increase employment. In the long run, however, their interests diverge, the success of the middle class leading to the possibility of a duplication of the employer vs. employee conflict which characterizes the American population today. The threats to the public peace to which the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" movement may give rise thus lie deeper than the excesses which may arise because of picket lines. Added to these is a struggle for a new equilibrium between the races which is complicated by the fact that race discrimination, which is often present in the attitudes of the employer and employee where the Negro is concerned, does not square with the philosophy of equality of opportunity in which Americans believe.

⁴³ The possibility of misdirecting the energies of the race in the struggle for bourgeois rights is clearly stated by Harris in *The Negro as Capitalist*, p. 177.

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE JEWISH MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES*

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MUTUAL aid, albeit in a much cruder form, is practically as old as society itself. It is one of those expedients which man has hit upon almost at the start of his long and rough journey. To some extent this age-old practice may even be considered as

one of the factors responsible for the survival of group life.

While it is a device resorted to by all groups, civilized and uncivilized, mutual aid seems to gain in importance with the extent of insecurity prevalent. The well known courtesy and hospitality of desert dwellers and inhabitants of other isolated territories are therefore far from being accidental. In our own society, the im-

* This paper is based upon data collected by workers on the Ethnic Survey of Connecticut conducted by the Federal Writers' Project of Connecticut.

migrant undoubtedly feels much less secure than the individual belonging to the dominant group. Hence, one of his very first acts upon settling here is to join his fellow countrymen for the purpose of extending and receiving help when in need. It is for this reason that mutual aid societies are of far greater importance among our immigrant settlements than among our native population.

The economic aspect of the mutual aid society is quite well known, and for our purpose it is sufficient to state that insurance against sickness and death, as a rule, based upon the rating methods employed by commercial insurance companies, is offered to members in various denominations. In most of the societies, burial plots for the member and his immediate family and provisions for a proper burial are among the benefits included. In some, aid to distressed members in the form of free loans and outright donations of money and food, as well as sanatorium care for tuberculosis sufferers, is also a plainly stated or implied obligation.

What is in need of elucidation is the extent to which these societies are a factor in the social life of the group as well as in that of the individual. What, aside from the aforementioned benefits accruing to the individual, do the mutual benefit societies offer? Are they vital to the life of the group? Of what importance are they to the individual within that group? These questions are particularly pertinent at this time in view of the possibility that the Social Security Act will probably in the none too distant future seek to broaden its scope beyond its present limits, and thus come in direct conflict with this well established institution. If the mutual benefit society is merely what its name implies, i.e. an agency for protecting individuals associated with it against economic loss occasioned by sickness and

death, its passing out of existence would simply mean an adjustment to changed conditions, unattended by serious consequences. If, however, the institution in question has, in addition to this objective, other aims, if it performs some other functions vital to the life of the group or the individual, then the change may involve serious maladjustment. An insight, therefore, into the nature and function of the mutual aid society which this paper attempts to give, is likely to help us in the understanding of the problem involved.

The mutual benefit societies discussed in this paper are those of the Jewish community, numbering about 27,000 souls, in Hartford, Connecticut. It may safely be assumed that the societies herein examined are typical of those in other Jewish communities of similar size in other parts of the country. Moreover, since the mutual benefit societies of other ethnic groups arose in response to similar conditions and the functions they perform are very much like those of the Jewish societies, much that is said of these latter will undoubtedly be true of the societies of other ethnic groups.

Of the over one hundred organizations of all kinds maintained by the Jews of the town, about thirty belong to the mutual benefit type. The benefit societies kept up by the group may be divided into branches of national orders and independent local societies. The former, again, are either offshoots of strictly Jewish or non-sectarian orders. Although mutual aid is a principle underlying each of these organizations, it is not the primary aim in every case. While some of the societies came into existence expressly for the purpose of offering aid to their distressed members, others started out with different objectives, adding benefit provisions later on. In other words, individuals formed these associations either for the

purpose of insuring themselves and their families against the vicissitudes of life, other functions being the natural outgrowths of contact, or because of a community of interests, which may have been social, cultural, or economic in nature, insurance benefits being an afterthought.

Societies having as their principal objective mutual aid, began to be organized among the Jews of the city almost simultaneously with the very founding of the Jewish settlement. Efforts at organizing for mutual protection were made as early as 1871, when the Jewish population of the city was but a handful, and Jewish immigration was limited to a few individuals and families from the German Palatinate. In that year the small number of Jews who had just settled there banded together to form a branch of the national order of Free Sons of Israel. Although mutual protection was uppermost in the minds of the organizers, the society soon became also a benevolent association with the aim of helping coreligionists adjust themselves to the new environment. Aside, therefore, from offering benefits to its members, the society actively encouraged the learning of English, the acquisition of citizenship, and the participation in civic and national affairs. In this, the society but followed the program of Americanization promulgated by the national headquarters.

Towards the end of the century, when the Jewish population of the city was still less than two thousand, other societies sprang up, all purporting to afford aid to their members but in reality serving more as a means of strengthening the budding group life. Among the first of these were the three lodges of the Order of Brith Abraham which, in turn, were followed by three others affiliated with the Order of Brith Sholom. As in the

case of the Free Sons of Israel society, all of these lodges were organized primarily for the purpose of insuring their members against sickness and death. What they actually developed into was, however, much more than that. Each of these lodges became a center of activities aiming to promote group consciousness, even though American patriotism and general humanitarian ideals were principles widely proclaimed and promulgated.

Thus while "Unity, Liberty, and Justice" are proclaimed as underlying principles by the lodges of Brith Abraham and "American ideals and Jewish ideals" are written prominently upon the banners of the Brith Sholom societies, by far the greater emphasis is laid upon the perpetuation of Jewish life, as is apparent from the following excerpts of a program of the Brith Abraham lodges.¹ This program calls for "lectures on the history of our people, the national and international events which effect the Jews as Jews and as citizens of their respective countries"; "the showing of motion pictures of Palestine designed to inform American Jews of the Jewish homeland . . . and to stimulate our Jewish National Fund Drive"; the formation of Jewish athletic clubs "to which Jewish young men apply for activity in sports"; histrionics which will offer Jewish young men and women a chance to "dramatize in play form important events in Jewish history"; and the establishment of "a symphony orchestra to function at our public meetings and to popularize fine Jewish music." The order also "actively participates in all national movements which tend to protect Jewish interests everywhere, here and abroad," and "has assumed a leading rôle in the upbuilding of Palestine." Similarly, the Brith Sholom lodges have

¹ Stated in the *Brith Abraham* of January, 1937.

extensive educational programs propagated by headquarters. All of these objectives, many of which, of course, remain mere aspirations, are diffused by means of monthly bulletins, conventions, conferences, and individual lodge meetings.

Class-conscious Jewish workers are found to belong to one of the branches of the two workers' mutual benefit societies, the "Workmen's Circle" (*Arbeiter Ring*) and the "Jewish National Workers' Alliance" (*Jüdisch Nationaler Arbeiter Verband*). Of the first there exist in town five branches and of the latter, one. Here again, although founded primarily for the purpose of affording sick and death benefits to their members, the major social activities of these societies are designed to foster the knowledge and appreciation of certain Jewish cultural values.

Both the Circle and the *Verband* are socialistic in their underlying philosophies, but while the first strives to promote Jewish folk culture, the latter is definitely nationalistic in aim and actively participates in the Zionist movement. To this end activities of an educational character are emphasized, particularly in the Circle. In this organization, lectures, dealing mostly with social and economic problems from the socialist point of view, are given at frequent intervals. The cultivation of the Jewish folk arts, history and, above all, of Yiddish, which is considered the language of the masses, is another major principle. Choral and dramatic societies and an afternoon school for children of members are part of this educational program. Aside from these local activities, there are those calling for the support of the Circle's extensive educational, recreational, and health programs throughout America and Europe.

In the *Verband* the emphasis is put on

the radical phase of Jewish nationalism, so-called socialist Zionism. Although Yiddish is also here considered important and, hence, encouraged, the Hebrew language and Zionist ideology occupy important places on the program. The children's school affiliated with the *Verband* aims primarily at inculcating in the children a nationalism tempered with socialism. Similarly, the lectures, programs, and other activities sponsored by this organization are characterized by a socialist-Zionist point of view.

Aside from the aforementioned societies, there exist also branches of national non-sectarian orders which are practically wholly Jewish in membership. Two of them are affiliated with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and another with the Knights of Pythias. Although conforming to the rituals and laws and regulations governing their respective orders, these lodges may be considered as definite units in the system of Jewish mutual aid societies. This becomes quite apparent when we consider the reasons for their coming into existence as well as the functions they perform.

The lodges were organized mainly by individuals who had previously belonged to one or another of the general branches. The reason for forming separate Jewish branches is to be found in the claim that Jewish members were not accorded opportunities to rise to leadership equal to those enjoyed by Gentile members. No doubt a desire to be among their own people and thus feel more at ease, to enjoy things done their own way, and to contribute towards the preservation of Jewish group life is another important motive.

That this is so can be seen from the Jewish aspects taken on by the various activities of these lodges. The halls in which meetings and affairs are held are decorated with Jewish as well as American

national colors; the Jewish flag is saluted together with the American flag; and the singing of the *Hatikvah*, the Jewish national anthem, usually follows that of the Star Spangled Banner. Some celebrate Purim and Hanukkah with appropriate food and entertainment, in addition to American holidays like Thanksgiving or Washington's Birthday. Entertainers present sketches from Jewish life, sing Jewish songs, and tell Jewish jokes as added attractions to the common American amusement fare. Finally, the food served is almost always kosher and cooked in the customary Jewish manner.

The philanthropic phase of the lodges' activities is also definitely Jewish in character. All of these societies contribute their share to such agencies as the Community Chest, Red Cross, etc., but their main support is given to Jewish institutions. "The large and continuous donations," states a message contained in the Silver Anniversary Program of the Knights of Pythias Lodge, "to Mt. Sinai Hospital, Jewish relief in Europe, a national homeland for the wandering sons of Israel in Palestine, to the children's home, old people's home, Y.M. and Y.W.H.A., Community Chest, and kindred benevolent and philanthropic agencies are some of the brightest chapters in its history."

The relationship between the Jewish and non-Jewish branches is cordial, degree work being sometimes exchanged, yet a real bond of friendship exists only among the Jewish lodges of the city and State. Get-togethers, reciprocal degree work, joint affairs are, as a rule, taking place only within the Jewish group of lodges.

The purely local mutual benefit societies, of which there are fourteen, fall into three categories, (a) the general, (b)

*Landsleit*², and (c) trade associations. Those composing the first category admit qualified Jewish members indiscriminately. Societies belonging to the second type draw their members from among the various groups of countrymen or *Landsleit*, i.e. those deriving from a common country, section, or town in the Old World. Finally, societies in the third category, of which only one exists at present, consist of individuals in the same trade or occupation.

The feature common to all of these societies is, of course, mutual aid. What distinguishes them, as can easily be surmised, is emphasis on certain matters of concern to one group and not to the other. The first group of societies needs no explanation. Aside from the sick and death benefits, the *Landsleit* societies, or *Vereine*, have as their aim the maintenance and cultivating of a bond existing among individuals born and brought up in the same locality. Another motive for organizing along these lines is to be found in the fact that by cooperating, individuals can help more effectively their relatives, friends, and townspeople remaining in the Old Country. One of the major functions, therefore, in each of these associations is pooling funds and articles of food and clothing and sending them over to the particular town or district to be distributed there by a person appointed by the society. The trade association, which is composed of peddlers and petty storekeepers, was organized primarily to defend common economic interests. Benefit features were appended later to attract new members as well as to hold the old ones.

To a much greater extent than the organizations dealt with previously, these local societies are media through which Jewish group life in all its aspects seeks

² The Yiddish equivalent of the German *Landsleute*.

to express itself. In many of them the fostering of group consciousness and the preservation of Jewish institutions completely overshadow the more concrete benefits which are ostensibly responsible for their existence. This being the case, all activities are designed to inculcate in their members an appreciation of Jewish values. Lectures and discussions center around Jewish problems. Meetings, formal and informal gatherings of all sorts, dances, balls, concerts, banquets, bridges, teas, outings, etc., means by which the societies augment their funds and at the same time afford their members social contact and relaxation, are all consciously or unconsciously furthering that aim. If we add to these functions the financial and moral support extended to local and national Jewish institutions and causes, the importance of the societies to the life of the group becomes even more apparent. Here, too, Americanism and the support of certain benevolent, non-sectarian institutions are actively encouraged, but the major emphasis is on the Jewish side.

That all of these societies fill a real need also in the life of the individual has already been indicated. The monetary benefits he receives are undoubtedly an important motive for his joining. By far the most significant reasons, however, for his becoming a member are social. Contact with members of his own ethnic group in an atmosphere in which he feels at home, opportunities for self-expression, for having a voice in the affairs of the group are undoubtedly among the decisive factors. The numerous functions of the societies already referred to are all providing such opportunities. Aside from these there are the informal get-togethers for the purpose of chatting, playing games, etc., all of which serve to create an atmos-

phere where acquaintanceships and friendships are cultivated and strengthened.

What is the proportion of Jews in the community affiliated with these mutual aid societies? This is quite difficult to determine, owing to the fact that many, if not most, of the members belong to more than one lodge. The combined membership of all of them, however, reaches a total of 3,941. With the exception of two lodges, this number does not include the women's auxiliaries which in some cases have memberships almost as large as those of their parent organizations. Should these be added, the total would be increased to at least 5,000.

The mutual benefit society thus reaches a significant part of the total Jewish population of the town although this represents a much lower proportion than that of former years. The membership of practically every organization has shrunk considerably during the past decade or so. The economic depression and the dying-off of old members coupled with the failure to interest younger people in joining are given as the primary reasons. This failure, however, to attract young people is largely due to the inertia of the remaining members. For wherever attempts were made to offer the prospective members sufficient inducement in the form of social activities and efficient management, the ranks have been replenished by young, native-born people.

In an institution which is essentially the creation of the immigrant the proportion of native born participating in its maintenance is undoubtedly indicative of the need it fills in the life of the younger generation which is fast becoming the dominant element in the group. While in most of the societies the membership is predominantly foreign-born, in quite a number of them the American-born element is in a majority, reaching as high a

percentage as 90. In these lodges, and even in some where they are a definite minority, the younger people have taken over the reigns of leadership and are determining the societies' policies. Aside from the motives mentioned above, younger people also join these societies out of deference to their parents as well as for religious and sentimental reasons.

The membership of all of these societies is drawn from practically all the economic and social strata of the group except the wealthiest, of which very few find it desirable to join. Of the religious divisions the conservative and orthodox predominate. The average age of members in all of these societies is about forty. In many of them, however, it is only thirty-five. A certain specialization with regard to age, occupation, and social class is observable in some of the societies. The branches of the national, non-sectarian orders cater mostly to the younger, American-born generation. In these, Jewish professionals are, as a rule, the leaders. The workmen's organizations draw, of course, their members principally from the ranks of the artisans. Between the affiliates of the Jewish national orders and the purely local societies, the former have a larger proportion of young people. This is not true, however, in every case, as the largest local society is composed of about 80 percent American-born individuals of the younger generation.

Only the most outstanding features of

the mutual benefit societies as found in this community could be touched upon within this limited space. What becomes quite apparent from this brief account is the significant rôle they continue to play in the life of the group and the individual. We have seen that by fostering, at times even unawares, an understanding and appreciation of Jewish cultural values and attitudes among their members, they tend to keep alive group consciousness and a sense of cohesiveness and solidarity. By extending support to the various Jewish institutions they aid towards their preservation. Certain movements, like Zionism, find these societies a fertile ground for their appeals for moral and financial aid. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, by affording their members practical training in democratic procedure and leadership, by actively encouraging among them an understanding and appreciation of American institutions which, as we have noted is a cardinal principle with most of them, the societies are also aiding in the process of their Americanization.

The part these associations play in the social adjustment of the individual is also quite evident. By creating for him a definite place within the group, they give him a sense of belonging which is so vital to his normal functioning in society. This is the more important since the second generation immigrant is as yet largely dependent upon his own group for his social adjustment.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

ADMINISTRATIVE DISCRETION AND THE NLRB

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TO THE Fathers the location of executive, legislative, and judicial power in one man or body of men was, by definition, tyranny. In our day the exigencies of effective administration have necessitated a substantial concentration of power in certain types of regulatory bodies. In consequence the cry of tyranny has again been raised—particularly by those who feel most directly the effectiveness of this type of governmental control and by those who see in the old war cries a modern political weapon. Both the National Labor Relations Act and the Board are being subjected to these attacks.

We start from one of the basic tenets of American political theology—the doctrine of the separation of powers which holds that the law-making power having once been delegated by the people to Congress, cannot be re-delegated by Congress to an administrative agency. Every quasi-legislative administrative agency from the Interstate Commerce Commission established in 1887 to the present covey of New Deal boards and commissions has been subjected to attack on grounds that there has been an unwarranted delegation of powers to them.

Coupled with this doctrine is another theological prescript: that we have, and must maintain, a government of laws and not of men. No simple exposition of

such content as this phrase may have can be given in a short space. But for purposes of the present analysis, it involves the assumption that the constitution is something clear, definite, explicit, and that the courts, to which has been delegated the judicial power, are the appointed agencies for enforcing the rule of law upon all other governmental bodies. Underlying this general doctrine is a distrust of the human element in government, a suspicion (too often verified, unfortunately) that men in government are engaged in serving their own interests to the disadvantage of those governed.

Like most doctrinal constructions, this system of ideas is over-simplified in its common use and is burlesqued by the prostitution of its various phrases in the service of special interests. Thus any economic interest which has been successful in exploiting labor or the consumer and is suddenly faced not only with a regulatory law but with an administrative agency with power to give that law effective enforcement immediately takes cover behind the "constitution," "the rule of law," "the dangers of bureaucracy," "the dictatorship of men in commission government," and so on.

The problem is admittedly difficult. Only men can enforce the law—and especially the spirit of the law. *Spirit of the law* is no idle phrase much as it may seem

merely to invoke another theological concept. Its significance lies in the fact that it is impossible to embody in the letter of the law a complete statement of the public interest or to achieve that interest by detailed rules. Men must understand, must believe, must clothe the skeleton of the law with the body of action. To do this in handling any major social problem means looking upon that problem as a pattern of conduct inter-related with other aspects of our society. Simple cause and effect is not enough; black devils and white angels do not people the workaday world; nothing short of treating the total situation is realistic.

We struggle to move in this direction in criminal law. Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, are specific injunctions for the violation of which specific punishments may be provided and may be enforced to the letter. But we have long since realized that a rigid and arbitrary application of such a rule of law may kill but it does not cure and it contributes all too little to an improvement of those inter-related social situations which we have now come to look upon as causal. We have been trying to get away from the easy way in which the punishment is made to bear some mathematical ratio to the crime; we have been moving toward the more difficult but more just and more socially valuable method of suiting the treatment to the individual and to the social situation.

When the Federal Trade Commission was created, Congress delegated power to it under a very broad phrase—to outlaw and prevent "unfair methods of competition." This delegation was made for two general reasons: (1) Congress was neither competent nor able to define and state specifically all the forms which unfair competition might take, and (2) the competitive situation is a dynamic one

making any static set of definitions inadequate. In a leading case, J. McReynolds speaking for the majority of the Court limited the Commission's discretion to those methods considered unfair at the time the Act was passed. To this Brandeis replied in his dissent:

Experience with existing laws had taught that definition, being necessarily rigid, would prove embarrassing and, if rigorously applied, might involve great hardship. Methods of competition which would be unfair in one industry, under certain circumstances, might, when adopted in another industry, or even in the same industry, under different circumstances, be entirely unobjectionable. Furthermore, an enumeration, however comprehensive, of existing methods of unfair competition must necessarily soon prove incomplete, as with new conditions constantly arising novel unfair methods would be devised and developed.

Thus the determination of what constitutes an "unfair method of competition" is a problem in specific analysis of a specific situation in the light of certain general principles of fair conduct and with regard to the interest of the whole. To insist upon the whole policy being embodied in the written statute would be to smother the spirit of the law with an arid verbalism.

In commenting on Senator Wagner's defense of the National Labor Relations Act before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, the *New York Times* repeated a criticism it has frequently made (a little plaintively, perhaps):

At what point can an employer be said to have bargained collectively? If an employer listens politely to all of a union's demands, and rejects them all, has he bargained collectively? Must he accept the demands, or at least some of them, in order to bargain collectively—even if the demands are unreasonable? Is he compelled to make a counter-proposal which grants at least part of any demands? Does the question turn on the reasonableness of the demands? Then must the Labor Board decide what demands are reasonable? In that case, would we not be trying, in effect, to enforce unilateral compulsory arbitration?

It should be remembered that the point of departure for the *Times* includes not only the theological doctrines mentioned above but also the general belief that the Act itself is unfair. Since that is a matter of opinion, the problem can better be approached by putting the question of fairness of the Act to one side and examining the mechanism of administration.

The core of the act is in Section 7:

Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.

While this guarantee of complete freedom to organize and bargain collectively is the heart of the Act and the central description of its spirit, section 8 makes more explicit the kinds of actions by the employer which may be defined as unfair. Thus it is unfair for an employer (1) to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights; (2) to dominate or interfere with the formation and administration of any labor organization, or contribute support to it; (3) to discriminate in the matter of hire, tenure, or any condition of employment for the purpose of encouraging or discouraging membership in a labor organization; (4) to discharge or discriminate against an employee because he invokes the Act; and (5) to refuse to bargain collectively.

Even this brief statement reveals a considerable redundancy in provisions. Furthermore, it leaves undefined many key words: "collective bargaining," "interfere with," "restrain," "coerce," "dominate," "discriminate," and many others which require some definition in the process of enforcement.

How does the Board meet the difficult

problem of interpreting what the spirit of the Act is, integrating it with the letter, and applying it to specific situations? How does it make real the obligation of the employer to "bargain collectively," not "to interfere" with self-organization, not "to dominate" or "to discriminate"?

There are two main processes. One is the working out of principles of application based on the Board's extensive knowledge of labor problems; on the intent and meaning of the Act as expressed in its language, by Congress in enacting it, by the courts in interpreting it; and, last but by no means least, on extensive studies of types of violations made up of large numbers of case histories growing out of the work of the Board. The second process is the treatment given any particular case which consists in making a case study of all pertinent factors and then in the application of general principles in the light of known facts. Thus whether or not certain employees were discharged in violation of the law depends on an analysis of the surrounding circumstances; also whether or not the employer has met the obligation to bargain collectively depends on the total situation revealed by the case history—not only the history of the particular attempts to bargain involved in the case, but the history of previous relations of the employer with his employees.

Thus the enforcement of the Act, in letter and in spirit, necessitates a situational approach requiring competence on the part of the Board and the legal power to use its competence. The working out of principles which are generally applied to similar situations serves the purpose of the rule of law—that is, of enabling those governed by the Act to predict, with some degree of close approximation, the course enforcement will

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How does the Board meet the difficult

problem of interpreting what the spirit of the Act is, integrating it with the letter, and applying it to specific situations? How does it make real the obligation of the employer to "bargain collectively," not "to interfere" with self-organization, not "to dominate" or "to discriminate"?

There are two main processes. One is the working out of principles of application based on the Board's extensive knowledge of labor problems; on the intent and meaning of the Act as expressed in its language, by Congress in enacting it, by the courts in interpreting it; and, last but by no means least, on extensive studies of types of violations made up of large numbers of case histories growing out of the work of the Board. The second process is the treatment given any particular case which consists in making a case study of all pertinent factors and then in the application of general principles in the light of known facts. Thus whether or not certain employees were discharged in violation of the law depends on an analysis of the surrounding circumstances; also whether or not the employer has met the obligation to bargain collectively depends on the total situation revealed by the case history—not only the history of the particular attempts to bargain involved in the case, but the history of previous relations of the employer with his employees.

Thus the enforcement of the Act, in letter and in spirit, necessitates a situational approach requiring competence on the part of the Board and the legal power to use its competence. The working out of principles which are generally applied to similar situations serves the purpose of the rule of law—that is, of enabling those governed by the Act to predict, with some degree of close approximation, the course enforcement will

take. The thorough analysis of any particular case enables the Board to make the most equitable application of these principles to that case on the one hand, and to prevent subterfuge and evasion of the Act on the other.

If the editors of the *Times* and other critics of the Act and the Board will do the latter the justice of reading carefully the last *Annual Report*, they will have reasonably good answers to the questions raised in the *Times'* editorial. Part VII of the *Report* is devoted to an exposition of "Principles Established" and contains 165 pages of closely printed material amply illustrated from cases with which the Board has dealt. An inescapable conclusion from analyzing this material is that there could be no effective enforcement of the Act without a high degree of administrative discretion.

Subsection (1) of section 8 of the Act makes it an unfair labor practice for an employer to "interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees" in the exercise of the rights granted in section 7. In enforcing that subsection the Board has had to deal with the following (among other) kinds of acts:

Use of professional spies—spying on individual employees, attending union meetings, etc.; use of regular employees as spies; managerial employees spying on union meetings or attending them; direct bribery of union leaders; bribery by offers of promotion, vacations with pay, use of business facilities, etc.; instigating violence against union members (Forelady, referring to union organizer, "What do you say, girls, we give her a beating?"); running organizers out of town; shooting at organizers; suggesting that organizers be thrown into the river; creation of general disorder to demoralize union (use of "missionaries," "nobles," etc., for such purposes); fostering anti-union "Vigilantes" and citizens "Committees" ("Vigilantes are ready to take care of any radical organizers . . . ropes are ready."); requests that employees express a preference for a particular union; employer supervised elections; circulating loyalty pledges—loyalty campaigns; disparaging unions or union leaders; signing individual contracts

having the effect of hampering self-organization; intimidatory statements against "outside" unions ("We don't want no outside union to come in and run our business for us." That union organizers are "racketeers" "parasites," "drunks," "thugs," "reds," etc.); statements disparaging the NLRA; statements misinterpreting the provisions of the Act; threats to close plant (or actually closing it); threats against union organizers; limitations on what representatives employees might choose to represent them; attempts to dictate form of union; threats to evict from company owned houses; wage increases subsequent to failure of union negotiations; favoring one of two or more unions (permitting solicitation during working hours, giving free facilities—mimeograph, etc., openly advocating one union).

These are some, not all, of the kinds of acts in which the employer "interferes with," "restrains," or "coerces" his employees in the exercise of their rights. It should be clear, of course, that these acts must be related to the rights guaranteed employees—that is, they are acts intended to diminish employee freedom of action in self-organization. The case-history analysis of any given situation determines whether or not such acts were so intended and had such effect.

One more illustration. Subsection (3) of section 8 makes it an unfair labor practice for the employer to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization "by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment." Obviously, as the Board points out, violations of this subsection are also violations of subsection (1). Obviously also, the test of any particular action is its discriminatory effect on self-organization. The Board has met up with the following samples of acts under this provision:

Discharge of employees for union activity; discharge because of supposed union activity or membership; discharge of members of employee's family because of his union activity; refusing employment because of former or current union membership; encouraging membership in a particular union; discriminating against employees striving to free a com-

pany union from company control; discharging employees as requested by company union, or by a favored union; discharge on claim that union membership unfitted the employee for news-gathering; discharge of one union group because of pressure from a rival union (The Act "permits no immunity because the employer may think that the exigencies of the moment require infraction of the statute."); discharge for conferring with Attorney of Board; discharge for testifying concerning an attack on union organizer; discharge for "snooping" by employee who was chairman of the union's grievance committee; discharge for discussing union matters during working hours when company rules did not prohibit talk as such; discriminatory lay-offs; refusals to reinstate after lay-off, strike or lockout; assigning union men to unprofitable or useless work (mining); wage decreases, demotions, transfers, etc., sometimes resulting in resignation of union men; acceleration of speed of machines operated by union men; company union closed shop agreement used to prevent rehiring union men after shutdown; intimidating employee into not applying for reinstatement; abandoning a plant for anti-union reasons; blacklisting; "yellow-dog" contract; requiring joining favored union for reinstatement; delegation of power to union to discharge, lay-off, or reinstate; insubordination, infraction of company rules, fighting, violence, etc., as reasons for discharge; discriminatory close watch on employee suspected of union activity—to trip him up; discriminatory rigid application of company rules to union members.

Here again it is plain there is no easy road to the integration of law and fact in enforcing the Act. But an examination of the care with which the Board makes its analyses of facts leads to confidence in its methods of achieving the broad basic purposes of the Act. As the Board itself describes it:

"The Board's method of weighing the evidence to determine whether the employer discriminated because of union affiliation or activity can best be understood through the examination of the detailed findings of fact made by the Board accompanying each of its orders. Each case stands on its own because of the variety of fact situations." For example: "Any antiunion activity by the employer tends to show that the employer discriminated against particular employees on that ground." The Board therefore considers "the entire background of the discharges, the inferences to be drawn from testi-

mony and conduct, and the soundness of the contentions when tested against such background and inferences." It considers "all relevant facts tending to prove or disprove that the employer's purported reason for the release is his true reason; e. g., length of total employment, experience in the particular position from which the employee was discharged, efficiency ratings and estimates by qualified persons, specific acts showing degree of efficiency, skill, care, comparison with other employees," etc.

Suppose Congress were to attempt to enact into law the detailed definition of particular acts considered to be unfair labor practices and to withdraw from the Board the power to bring any different acts under the jurisdiction of the Act. It is plain that the purpose of the Act—to promote self-organization and collective bargaining—would be poorly served by such a catalogue. The specific acts would have to be examined anyway to determine whether or not they were discriminatory. Furthermore, the detailed cataloguing of such acts, aside from being rigid, static, and outside the competence of Congress adequately to define them, would constitute a lawyers' paradise in which to devise other acts and schemes by which to evade the Act. A premium would be placed on forcing the Board into the courts on every possible question of interpretation.

It is of the essence of administrative discretion that the agency be in a position to adapt its exercise of power to changing conditions. Once the general practice of collective bargaining has been developed and is understood, the burden on the Board of catching new tricks of evasion will decline, principles will stand out more clearly, and there will be less of an appearance of the arbitrary exercise of authority to those upon whom the Act is enforced.

Industrial relations will always be to some degree unstable. In our present economy the opposition between employer

and employee is too all-pervading. The relation of the employer's labor costs to his general problem of costs and profits, the human nature problems involved in who is to determine company policy, the vis-a-vis (rather than cooperative) character of collective bargaining, the general standards of conduct induced by the competitive business system, all these factors tend to promote resistance to or evasion of a law like the Wagner Act. It will be a long time before that total situation is established. Consequently the demand for an agency such as the NLRB with wide discretionary powers enabling it to achieve the general objectives of the Act in a variety of situations is not likely soon to abate.

This article has been concerned with an elucidation of the operation of administrative discretion. It has not attempted to deal with the claim that the Act is unfair, or that the board has administered it unfairly. It has attempted to show that substantial administrative discretion is necessary in dealing with the kind of problem presented by industrial relations.

It is my conviction that the Act is fair, but that to understand that judgment, one

cannot start from the premise that the situation prior to the enactment of the law was fair. It seems hard to believe that any informed person could start with such premise. It is obvious that the general system of the law of property, the conditioning of the judges, the tenacity of the doctrine of freedom of contract, the gross inequalities of economic bargaining power, all these and many other factors have militated against a "fair" deal for labor.

Finally, there has been no intention whatever of glossing over the important and difficult problems involved in the use of agencies possessing substantial administrative discretion. I do not think such discretion necessitates an abandonment of the central idea in the rule of law. I do agree that it enhances the importance of men in government. It accentuates more than ever that already central problem in all government—the selection of competent and responsible personnel. Given a law with adequate authorization for effective action, the real burden is then up to the administrators. In this respect the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board have got off to an auspicious start.

AN EVALUATION OF THE NEW DEAL AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM

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ONE of the oft stated purposes of the present administration is to restore the principle of balance as applied to the income or purchasing power of the farmer and that of the manufacturer. These incomes or purchasing powers are said to be out of balance, in part because of the restrictive measures

it has been possible for the manufacturer to adopt compared with the lack of restricting measures in the field of agriculture. Not only have the manufacturers themselves limited their output, but official sanction has been given their policy by the Federal government in levying protective tariffs on the importa-

tion of the same or similar products from foreign countries. Agriculture has not been so affected by the Federal tariff, in spite of arguments sometimes heard to that effect.

The United States from the Colonial Period to the World War was a debtor nation, and as such exported more goods each year than she imported in payment of the capital sent to this country and the semiannual interest charges on the principal sum. Owing to the fact that the United States had a comparative advantage in the production of agricultural products and a comparative disadvantage in the manufacture of many commodities, agricultural products were exported in larger amounts than were the products of other industries.

The westward movement which was brought to a close by the end of the nineteenth century was largely an agrarian movement which was accompanied by a large increase in the production of agricultural products. Improvements in farm machinery made it possible for a smaller percentage of the population of the United States to produce this increasing output.

Prices received by the farmer for his crops were determined very largely in the world market, and Federal legislation had little or nothing to do with raising the prices of farm products above those established under freely competitive conditions.

During this same period under discussion, namely from the Colonial Period to that of the World War, many manufacturing industries were operating under the stimulus of a protective tariff. Just to what extent a tariff was necessary to enable these industries to operate is beside the point here. The fact remains that because of Federal tariffs, the prices of many manufactured goods were set at levels above those determined by free

competition. The farmer sold his products in a competitive market and purchased many of his goods in a restricted market so that the principle of balance between the farmer and the manufacturer has not been maintained for many decades.

It has frequently been pointed out in textbooks and elsewhere that the agricultural depression started in the early years of the past decade, whereas the industrial depression did not commence until its closing year. This statement implies that prior to 1920 the prices of agricultural products and of manufactured goods were in balance. This may have contained some semblance of truth, at least through the years during and immediately after the World War. But it is extremely doubtful if as much can be said for the preceding 15 or 20 years, or even the entire period following the close of the War Between the States. Since the rise of Industrialism in the United States, the farmer has been in jeopardy. An important factor contributing to what degree of prosperity the farmer may have experienced during the past 75 years was the rapid growth in the population of the United States, together with the opening up of many frontier lands.

This combination factor of economic progress is no longer a condition of reality. Population growth is progressing at a decreasing rate and some authorities allow for a continuance of this condition until 1960, or even earlier, at which time the population of the United States will become stationary at approximately 160,000,000 people. While the frontier was closed at the beginning of the present century, many millions of acres of land were brought under cultivation during the past 25 years. Much of this activity was due to ~~w~~ conditions or government subsidy, and must be considered as a short time phenomenon.

From what has been said, it is evident that neither the farmer nor the manufacturer may rely upon a rapidly increasing population for an extension of their markets in the United States. One of the causes contributing to present day conditions which must not be included among the cyclical factors is, undoubtedly, the decreasing rate of population growth of the United States.

Another problem that faces agriculture today is that of decrease in the natural fertility of the soil compared with that of 75 years ago. This is a result of the exploitation of the land by the extensive method of cultivation, which in times past was the most economical method to pursue, especially considering the short time effects of that method.

At the same time that the farmer has been confronted with the problem of cultivating land of decreased productivity, the manufacturer has been producing his goods with capital that is vastly more productive now than at any time in the past. This statement does not take into account short time cyclical phenomena. This relationship between the productivity of the principal factors of production used by the farmer and the manufacturer has given rise to the unbalanced relationship existing between prices of agricultural products and those of manufactured goods, due largely to increasing cost conditions in agriculture compared with decreasing cost conditions in manufacture. It must not be overlooked that manufacturing depends upon land and natural resources for its raw materials and to that extent is subject to increasing cost conditions over a period. Nevertheless, improvements in the efficiency and in the organization of industry seem to have offset effectively decreasing cost conditions as they affect industry in the United States so that in reality manufacturing may be

said to operate under conditions of decreasing cost in the long run as well as in the short run. The validity of this conclusion depends upon the continuance of the success of measures taken to introduce economies in manufacturing and organizational processes of production.

During the World War, the United States was called upon to feed the countries of Europe, and, in accomplishing that purpose, much land was brought under cultivation, under the stimulus of high prices of agricultural products, that formerly was considered submarginal land. As long as the prices of agricultural products were inflated, it was profitable to cultivate this land, especially since during those same years the cultivation of some land was furthered by ample rainfall. Not only were new lands brought under cultivation which hitherto were submarginal, but supermarginal land was purchased on the basis of war-stimulated high prices paid for agricultural products. Land values were highly inflated compared with preëxisting long run values, and even compared with what far-seeing persons could anticipate in the future. Much of the distress of the farmer was brought about by his inability to pay off mortgages on land greater than the long run value of that land itself. For this reason, among others, farmers were forced to borrow from their banks, and the banks in turn were practically compelled to lend to the farmers, even though they had reason to believe that the loans would not be repaid at their maturity. This relationship between agriculture and the banks placed an undue strain upon our banking system which was unable to bear up under this excessive burden. Insofar as banks were tied up to agriculture, it was the result of the failure on the part of both banker and farmer to distinguish between short time and long time phe-

nomena, and it was finally in recognition of this distinction that the Federal government provided for the establishment of Intermediate Credit Banks, Federal Land Banks, and Joint Stock Land Banks. As these institutions were not established until the early part of the 1920's, they really came too late to do a great deal of good, since much of the damage had already been done when they entered upon the scene.

As the decade approached its closing years, it became apparent that markets for agricultural products were falling off at a more rapid rate than new markets were being established, and since little or no land was withdrawn from cultivation, the inevitable result was a fall in the price range of agricultural products.

The agricultural depression had been in progress for some six or eight years when the Industrial Depression finally became a condition of reality. The business depression, which is said to have started in the fall of 1929, was the result of unbalanced relationships, stimulated by war and postwar conditions. It is probably true that all cyclical fluctuations are short time phenomena, centering around a secular trend which is a long time phenomenon. Undoubtedly the secular trend in the relative purchasing powers of the farmer and the manufacturer was in the direction of greater inequality or unbalanced relationship rather than towards the conditions of equality and a balanced relationship.

The conclusion to be drawn from the preceding discussion is that the lack of balance in the income of the farmer and of the manufacturer is due ultimately to an accumulation of causes over a period of years, rather than to certain conditions which have prevailed only since the World War.

Among the measures adopted by the

Department of Agriculture to improve the relative position of the farmer, that of having a Federal created agency purchasing a so-called exportable surplus, has proved to be one of the most ineffective means. The activities of the Federal Farm Board are well known, and the results are just as familiar to all students of economics and agriculture.

With the launching of the New Deal program in 1933, the Department of Agriculture attempted to control the price of agricultural products by restricting the acreage planted in certain products and by killing a certain amount of livestock. These two steps were taken in the face of extended bread lines and untold suffering and hardship resulting from lack of proper food by thousands and even millions of our people. A program including these features undoubtedly was a long time program. Yet it was adopted in order to alleviate a short time condition. As could be expected in a situation similar to this, the results were anything but pleasing in the short run. It is true that the prices of agricultural products did rise slightly in the years following the adoption of these measures which alone would have had the effect of increasing the farmer's income. However, when the prices of agricultural products increased, it seems that prices of other products purchased by the farmer were increased due to restrictive measures in other fields of activity, so that the full benefit of the New Deal agricultural program was not realized.

Based on 1909 to 1914 prices, it is true that the prices received by the farmer for his grains, meat animals, and produce increased from 65 in 1932 to 114 in 1936, but during the same period the retail prices of the commodities used by the farmer increased from 107 to 124. The ratio of the prices received to prices paid

increased from 61 to 92, which shows that while the condition of the farmer improved over a period of five years, he was still at a disadvantage when he went to market.

There were two other factors contributing to the increase in the farmer's income during this period, namely, drought and government subsidy. There was somewhat of a prolonged drought in the agricultural states which was showing cumulative effects by 1933, and the tendency was for agricultural prices to rise regardless of governmental activity. In addition to this increase in the income of the farmer, the latter received benefits from the government for agreeing to withhold land from productive use.

During this same period under discussion, 1932 to 1936, the profits accruing to 167 industries increased almost 40 per cent. Business profits result from higher prices received for the product, lower cost of production, increased volume of business, or some combination of these factors. Evidently while the income of the farmer was increased, that of the manufacturer was increased still more, and little progress was made in creating a balanced relationship in prices between agricultural and industrial commodities.

The policy of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was to restrict the acreage under cultivation by means of restricting the acreage each individual farmer could cultivate in any given year without affecting the number of farms under cultivation and the number of farmers cultivating them. If the Department of Agriculture through any of its agencies, was interested in effecting a more or less permanent cure in the condition of the farmer, it seems that the adoption of a long time measure such as withdrawing entire farms from cultivation and mov-

ing farmers to other communities would have been much more successful. The money given to a large number of farmers in payment for not cultivating portions of their farms would have been concentrated in affording relief to a smaller number of farmers and their families who would have been moved to other communities. This action on the part of the Federal government would have affected more completely the activities of a fewer number of people than those who had their activities in part curtailed by the Federal government. To the extent that too much land of a low degree of productivity was under cultivation, it seems that this measure would have been much more effective than withdrawing from cultivation a given number of acres of high-grade tillable land.

It has been estimated by officials of the United States Department of Agriculture that under existing conditions of farm technique, 51 per cent of the farmers produces 89 per cent of all farm products that enter the market, while 49 per cent of the farmers produces the other 11 per cent of the products. They also state that 60 per cent of the present farm population is capable of producing all of the products of the farm placed on the market. Insofar as this is actually the case, 40 per cent of the present farm population is absorbing the income from farms, without increasing productivity. Farmers' incomes would be materially increased by moving the latter 40 per cent to localities and industries where they would be more productive than on the farm. With the ratio of population growth decreasing until it reaches zero in 1960, any other solution to the farm problem is only temporary.

All of the measures adopted by the Department of Agriculture, as well as those suggested in this paper, are really

not getting at the root of the evil in the whole situation. As was brought out in the early course of the development of this paper, an unbalanced relationship between agriculture and manufacturing exists because of certain stimuli given to industry, not given to agriculture. From one point of view, in order to restore balanced relationships between these two groups, the stimuli afforded industry should be withdrawn. This means a removal of all protective tariffs, or their reduction until they are placed upon a revenue basis, as well as the withdrawing of all other governmental aids and subsidies to manufacturers. Another factor contributing to the unbalanced relationship between the farmer and industry is that of monopoly, so prevalent at least in part, in the organization of industry

and so lacking in the field of agriculture. Creating monopolies in agriculture might overcome to some extent this unbalanced relationship, but it would lead to decidedly unstable economic conditions. The only thing to do from an economic point of view is to break down industrial monopolies.

Political expediency might hinder the adoption of such a program, but if it could be accomplished gradually over a period of years, it undoubtedly would be a more permanent solution in the long run than the measures that have been adopted. There would probably be some social repercussions following the adoption of the suggested program, but if the changes are not effected too rapidly, time may be given to affording a readjustment of these factors.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

For its thirty-fourth annual meeting, the American Sociological Society will meet in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 27-29, 1939, with headquarters at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel. Division meetings will feature: Social Theory, Social Biology, Social Psychology, Social Research, Human Ecology. There will be Section meetings on the Community, the Family, Political Sociology, Sociology of Religion, Social Statistics, Educational Sociology, Criminology, Sociology and Social Work, Sociology and Psychiatry.

Joint sessions have been arranged with the American Economic Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, Population Association of America, and the Institute of Mathematical Statistics. Other groups meeting in Philadelphia at this time will include: American Accounting Association, American Association of University Teachers of Insurance, American Business Law Association, American Farm Economic Association, American Marketing Association, Econometric Society, Rural Sociological Society, Tax Policy League.

At a joint session on Wednesday evening, December 27, at eight o'clock, Dr. Edwin H. Sutherland will deliver his presidential address on "The White Collar Criminal," and Dr. Jacob Viner, President of the American Economic Association, will speak on "Has Gold a Future?" Presiding at the annual dinner on Thursday evening, December 28, at six-thirty o'clock, will be Dr. Howard W. Odum, a past president of the Society.

Among the special breakfasts that have been arranged is that of the Southern Sociological Society on Thursday morning, December 28, at eight o'clock.

The *American Sociological Review*, official journal of the Society, carried the preliminary program in its October number. Final program and complete details can be secured from the secretary, Dr. Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh.

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SOME 1939 OFFERINGS FOR TRAINING IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD

University of North Carolina

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| SOCIAL RESEARCH. By Manuel Conrad Elmer. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 52 pp. \$3.00. | AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN STATISTICAL METHODS. By Paul R. Rider. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939. 220 pp. \$2.75. |
| SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL SURVEYS AND RESEARCH. By Pauline V. Young with chapters by Calvin F. Schmid. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 619 pp. \$3.00. | ELEMENTS OF STATISTICAL REASONING. By Alan E. Treloar. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939. 261 pp. \$3.25. |

STATISTICAL DICTIONARY OF TERMS AND SYMBOLS. By Albert K. Kurtz and Harold A. Edgerton. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939. 191 pp. \$2.00.

GRAPHIC PRESENTATION. By Willard C. Brinton. New York: Brinton Associates, 1939. 512 pp.

Bibliographies for courses aimed toward training students for social research, the central objective of graduate departments of sociology, may well include the books examined here. The six range in the order listed from a general and somewhat theoretical approach to social research, through methods of gathering and analyzing data, to a more complete treatment of one method of analysis, the statistical, and presentation of its results.

It seems strange that Prentice-Hall should present in the same year and in the same series two books with so much overlapping of field and material as Elmer's and Young's. Their titles, similar as they are, still differ more than the sets of topics covered by the two books. Elmer's emphasizes principles and philosophy of social research, while Young's emphasizes methods and techniques; but they are enough alike that one would hardly require a student to read both in their entireties. The three statistics books, on the other hand, continue the excellent Wiley and Sons series in this field with very little duplication of material, while the streamlined handbook of Brinton Associates replaces the 1914 standard reference on graphic methods.

Some of the strong points of Elmer's *Social Research* are a comprehensive organization of the field as indicated by the table of contents; a treatment of the various aspects of social research with a consistent emphasis on the "social process" point of view; a careful differentiation between the three divisions of phenomena with which sociology deals—the problem, the conditioning, and the

resulting—and finally a manifestation of the author's experience in social research in his balance and maturity of thinking and writing. Points which the reviewer evaluates as weak are the out-of-dateness of material in certain chapters supposed to supply current information (for instance, the registration areas for vital statistics are described as of 1921); the bias against quantitative research throughout the book and the largely negative treatment of statistics in the chapters especially devoted to it, with over-emphasis on its misuses and consequently little space for constructive examples of its correct use; and conspicuous omissions in certain chapters and bibliographies (for instance, there is no reference to Howard W. Odum or to any of his works in a chapter and bibliography on Regional Studies).

✓In the material on method and technique found in both Prentice-Hall books, Young shows far more specificity and concreteness. Her bibliographies on the several methods and techniques are fuller and seem to have been more recently compiled. Her suggestions and directions to beginning research workers are practical, helpful, and realistic; evidently they have grown out of the combination field work and classroom course she recommends. The chapters on statistical method and graphic presentation by Schmid are more thorough and adequate than comparable chapters in Elmer's book. It seems doubtful to the reviewer, however, whether a condensed summary of statistical methods is useful enough to justify its inclusion in a general work on social research.

As the title of Young's book indicates, the social survey is singled out for especial consideration, although "social study" in the generic sense is the central basis of organization of the entire book. The author attempts to formulate clearly the

difference between scientific social surveys and social research. She begins this differentiation with an excellent statement of the "pure" and "applied" dichotomy (pp. 60-63). But with further presentation of the trends in both types of social studies—in social surveys toward more "scientificness," in social research toward usefulness and mastery—she implicitly suggests, although never openly admits, that the boundary line of demarcation between the two is becoming less sharp, and that it is not impossible that the trends may continue until the line be obliterated and a synthesis achieved. This is only one instance of Young's rigidity in classification of methods and types of social study. On other similar matters of definition or of pigeon holing individual studies into her classification, some readers will probably find grounds for disagreement.

Modern Statistical Methods is written by a mathematician. It is included with this group of books for training in social research because no sociological statistician has yet introduced and utilized the modern statistical methods in a book on social statistics. Since, as Rider points out, "certain of the older methods, which are obsolete, and even in some cases erroneous . . . continue to be taught in the classroom and to be treated in textbooks," (p. v) it is essential that sociologists familiarize themselves with the advances made in statistical methods, especially those developed and unified by R. A. Fisher. The level of presentation, the use of calculus and determinants in derivations, and the necessity of translating applications and interpretations in other fields to social data make this book unsuited for an elementary course in social statistics. It may profitably be utilized in advanced courses, however, for treatment of more recently developed

methods, such as analysis of variance and covariance, and also for more rigid and precise treatment of regression, correlation, and other familiar methods of analysis than is found in texts on social statistics.

A considerable proportion of the data and applications of *Statistical Reasoning*, written by a biostatistician, is in the field of population. The value of the book, however, does not lie in providing instruction as to procedures and techniques of statistical analysis in any specific field, but in offering a common sense, nontechnical rationalization of statistical procedures and techniques. This text may be used, as the author suggests, for a foundation course to be followed by a detailed, applied course in one's own special field. The reviewer suggests that it may also be used by one who has had the other sort of introduction to statistical methods (that is, an applied course) to clarify and give meaning to the statistical procedures he has learned to use. For the book is so excellently written that it achieves a more careful exposition of the "why?" of statistical formulas with less technical mathematical derivation than any the reviewer has seen. The topics covered are those of elementary statistics, a companion volume on small-sample techniques being promised later.

The *Statistical Dictionary of Terms and Symbols* meets two major needs. First is that of the statistically untrained person who yet reads reports of research where statistical methods have been used and results are given in statistical terms. Such a reader will find in this dictionary precise and clear definitions of all the statistical terms he is likely to come across.

Second is the need of those utilizing statistical methods in every field of research for a standardization of terms and

symbols, and for a convenient and comprehensive reference to accepted and preferred usages. Time alone can tell whether a sufficiently large majority of those who use statistical terms and symbols will accept this volume as authoritative. It seems to have been very carefully prepared, and it was checked by an advisory council of outstanding scientists representing most of the fields of application. And yet the reviewer anticipates that there will be reluctance on the part of many to give up pet usages for those now labeled "preferred." It is doubtful if anyone short of a dictator will be able to effect so simple a standardization as the universal use of X instead of x for gross score. One wishes that the authors had stated more explicitly the criteria by which they determined their preferences, since this might give more weight to the recommended terms and result in more uniform adoption of them.

The dramatic variety and scope of *Graphic Presentation* is bewildering at

first glance. Color and humor, every conceivable type of chart and map, techniques of construction, reproduction, and display, making of exhibits and dioramas, use of cameras and lantern slides—all these and more in profusion illustrate and document the "magic in graphs." For stimulation to creative endeavor in vivid portrayal of social facts, the book will undoubtedly be effective.

On the other hand, despite the new type of topical index, the very richness of content makes for difficulty in locating information on the simple, elementary principles of chart construction, so necessary for beginners. The design of the book is admittedly dramatic rather than logical. It is recommended as a stimulant and as a reference rather than as a teaching guide or text. Its only conspicuous omission, as a compendium of illustrative material, is the absence of any mention or illustration of the work of Rudolph Modley and Pictorial Statistics, Inc.

CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY

HOWARD E. JENSEN

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CRIME AND SOCIETY. By Nathaniel Cantor. New York. Henry Holt and Co., 1939. 459 pp. \$3.00.

THE AMERICAN PRISON SYSTEM. By Fred E. Haynes. New York. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. 377 pp. \$4.00.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN THE SENTENCING TENDENCIES OF JUDGES. By Frederick Joseph Gaudet. New York. Archives of Psychology, No. 230, 1938. 57 pp. \$1.00.

PUNISHMENT AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer. New York. Columbia University Press, 1939. 268 pp. \$3.00.

Cantor's book is perhaps the best introductory volume in criminology available for the general reader. It is com-

prehensive in its scope, concise in its data, and clear and nontechnical in its style. Crime is realistically portrayed in relation to the contemporary American culture within which it appears, and our failure to deal with it more adequately is traced to the basic conflict between our inherited social traditions and our recently acquired scientific insights.

The book contains much new material based on the author's first hand study of penal systems in Europe, but the chief interest of the specialist will center in the methodological discussion in Part I.

Contrary to the prevailing tendency, the author finds in consciousness the distinguishing quality of human behavior which differentiates it from all other natural phenomena. "When we turn to the study of human society we find that social facts are tied up in a way unknown to the facts of the purely physical world. *Meaning*, and not the law of gravitation, *holds man's world together*. Social facts acquire significance because of the mentality of man." Objectively observable facts can thus directly reveal only the limiting conditions, the environmental setting and background, of human behavior; they can not disclose its efficient causes. But "a dynamic conception of how events are related to each other emphasizes the process of growth and development rather than the measurement of structures and formal aspects (conditions). Instead of solely analyzing for common factors, one observes the peculiarities of the actual situation. . . . What will happen depends upon the dynamic configurations of the total situation. An active adjusting individual selects from the many stimuli of his personality-environment those which will aid him in a dynamic, developing situation. . . . It is the transformations which occur at any moment which are significant in understanding the causes of crime. *The transformations themselves constitute the efficient causal factors.*"

The author illustrates his "clinical or dynamic" method by fully presenting a case in the appendix. He is critically aware of the hazards inherent in this method, but insists that, "if accepted and tested methods do not yield answers, then one should use less reliable methods which will give some clues even though the knowledge acquired be incomplete and uncertain."

Haynes presents a comprehensive pic-

ture of the American prison system as it exists today. The first eight chapters are devoted to a discussion of the various types of prisons throughout the country, with a special chapter devoted to the significant attempt to establish a community prison at Norfolk, Mass. Six chapters are devoted to the problems of prisons, penal administration, the classification of prisoners, health and medical service, education, inmate organization, and prison labor. Many of the problems confronting prison administrators are shown to be insoluble because of the incompatibility between the incarceration of offenders and their rehabilitation. The volume therefore closes with a discussion of probation and parole and the wider use of farms and camps in place of the cell-prison stereotype that has come to characterize the American prison. The author sees in these tendencies the beginning of the break-up of the American prison system, and an indication that "in the end society will abandon the superstition that loss of liberty makes people fit for liberty." The volume is an indispensable handbook for every student of penology in the United States, for no general study in this field has been made since Louis N. Robinson's work of nearly two decades ago.

Gaudet's monograph summarizes the results of a study of nearly eight thousand sentences passed by six judges sitting in the Court of Common Pleas of a New Jersey county. The study shows marked variations in the severity of the sentences imposed by the several judges, and these variations remain constant over the years covered by the survey. The fact of judicial bias is of course known to every lawyer, but Gaudet has shown by a canvass of the opinions of lawyers that they differ considerably in their judgments as to who the lenient and severe judges are!

He concludes that the training and experience of judges do not qualify them for exercising the sentencing function, and he favors this function being transferred to experts, but he has no hope that this reform will be accomplished in the near future.

Punishment and Social Structure is the product of two German emigré scholars working in the International Institute for Social Research, which transferred its activities from Frankfurt am Main to New York City in 1934 after its suppression by the German Government. The work was begun by Rusche in Germany in 1931, and completed in the United States by Kirchheimer. It is an historical study in the sociology of punishment. The authors' thesis is that the dominant factor in determining the penal methods of any epoch is the basic economic needs of a commodity-producing society. Enslavement as a form of punishment was dependent upon a slave economy, but under feudalism this form of punishment was inapplicable, and, as no other form

of using the labor power of the convict was discovered, a return to older methods of capital and corporal punishment was necessary. With the rise of mercantilism a new demand for goods was created, and the labor of the convict was now made available in a new type of penal institution, the house of correction. Galley slavery was a temporary method dependent upon a form of water transportation, and penal transportation likewise marked a passing stage of colonization. Modern technological society, however, demands a system of free labor, and has reduced the economic role of convict labor to a minimum. The authors do not contend that all penological theory has been a mere reflex of the system of production, but they do insist that penal reform movements motivated by such theory have made little headway if inconsistent with the basic system of productive labor. And this contention they substantiate with a wealth of historical material nowhere else available in English.

HOUSING AND THE CITY

LEE M. BROOKS

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EUROPE RE-HOUSED. By Elizabeth Denby. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1938. 284 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.

CAN AMERICA BUILD HOUSES? By Miles L. Colean. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Pamphlet No. 19, 1938. 31 pp. \$0.10.

THE CHALLENGE OF HOUSING. By Langdon W. Post. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938. 309 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.

SLUMS OF NEW YORK. By Harry Manuel Shulman. New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1938. 394 pp. \$3.00.

HOUSING THE MASSES. By Carol Aronovici. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1939. 291 pp. Illustrated. \$3.50.

HOUSING FOR THE MACHINE AGE. By Clarence Arthur Perry. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. 261 pp. Illustrated. \$2.50.

HOUSING YEARBOOK 1939. Edited by Coleman Woodbury. Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1939. 240 pp. \$3.00.

CITY PLANNING WHY AND HOW. By Harold MacLean Lewis. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1939. 257 pp. Illustrated. \$2.50.

YOUR CITY. By E. L. Thorndike. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939. 204 pp. \$2.00.

Not since colonial times has America been more community conscious than to-

day. Housing, planning, and social analysis are reaching new heights of interest with much stimulation coming from European experience. For those yet uninformed as to foreign accomplishments, Miss Denby's book is instructive. Can America do anything comparable? The next half dozen books point the way. Colean's booklet outlines a few main highways; Post travels with government aid and public utility participation; Shulman projects cultural reeducation of slum dwellers; Aronovici stresses saner land policies and intra-urban self-contained communities; Perry details neighborhood-unit planning with mass production of housing; and Woodbury edits a valuable guidebook. Their routes now parallel, now intersecting and divergent, these authors have the same orientation and the same goals. Lewis simplifies city planning for the average reader and Thorndike's little volume supported by big research is an antidote for boosteritis so easily contracted in our urban scene.

Denby: An English woman with eight years of basic experience takes the middle of the road in studying continental housing activities in the middle 1930's. After detailed description of experience in six of the ten countries visited, she has some burning words for English practices that perpetuate class cleavages such as "zoning snobberies" and "romantic escapism." She advises her people to boast less of housing expenditures and to develop more sociological vision (includes a sociologist in her recommended small commission) after the manner of Sweden's cooperative activity.

Sweden has overcrowded houses but few slums; little class distinction but much civic consciousness; governmental responsibility for housing and planning; powerful cooperative building societies; and momentum toward a fully integrated democ-

racy. Holland's man-land ratio makes for difficulty, yet they have scientific planning. Housing in poverty-ridden Germany is more than sticks and stones in its care for social and physical wellbeing. Italy puts family and town preservation first with housing an important secondary essential; health, children, and family life must come before private interests. France, individualistic and indifferent to architectural and sociological opportunities, is pictured as being half-heartedly inadequate in housing despite its waste disposal perfections.

The book is uncommonly interesting and informative. About her opposition to decentralization and "garden cities," some will say that Bourneville and Letchworths had to be in order to show the way. The numerous illustrations are excellent but some of the ingenious diagrams could have been more carefully executed.

Colean: As in other Public Affairs Pamphlets, here is *multum in parvo*. Deep-seated fears and an inadequate industry have kept us from seeing and doing even reasonably well. The housing facts, clearly set forth by pictorial statistics, are the same as those discussed or implied in the reviews below.

Post: The Chairman of New York City's Housing Authority, 1934-7, writes a flaming book which might be subtitled: "War on the slums and the vested interests, especially upon those who cling to the idea that housing for the poor can be provided by private industry." Yet, he, too, advises the middle way: "We can retain the benefits of capitalism; there is money to be made in housing," etc. (Metropolitan would-be home owners, see pp. 248-259). But, the government must undertake the housing of the lowest third with integration through public utility methods for the other two-thirds.

"Our failure to provide real homes is the weakest link in our economic system. . . . We live in a world of illusions and hopes created out of the profits of the past." He sees monkeys in the fine city zoo eating bananas and men in "rotten surroundings eating out their hearts." Property interests, yes; human interests, no; flood control, yes; control of human wastage, no; realistic activity abroad, yes; comparable vigor and expenditure at home, no! Rickety structures and rickety children; an unparalleled crime rate, largely slum-bred; city slums absorbing four times as much revenue as they contribute in taxes; plenty of facts and figures, paucity of vision and courage; stupidity and insincerity, phrases hiding a guilty conscience. Something, it would seem, is the matter with our ethics and economics. The system is not so wrong as those who abuse it. Bankers, speculators, politicians, and architects all should share the blame for the mess but most of all it is the city's own fault. Little cities as well as big ones, if they would "be salvaged, not destroyed," must allow the government to help them.

Mr. Post is not ashamed of the part he played in New York's leadership in First Houses, Williamsburg, and others. His fiery chapters reflect the contacts with slum destruction by fire and by plan, with rebuilding, with people like the expert Edith Elmer Wood, fearsome Ickes, dominant LaGuardia, man-of-action Hopkins, fallacious realtors, home-owning John Joneses, "overstuffed ladies," uninformed Congressmen, and plum-seeking local politicians. The "before" and "after" illustrations tell a story in themselves. He has written with concreteness and the while he defends his own record as a leader in the housing movement he produces an exciting and challenging book.

Shulman: This volume emphasizes the

ethnic aspects of New York City's slums studied in 1926 and in the depressed years 1931-32. He too sees the basic problems of slum clearance as economic but he views the cultural problem as most critical. Its solution must come via public education.

The original data on 779 families and 1,536 boys were gathered by Delphine Dunker. Upon these Mr. Shulman based the second survey and wrote the report. The Rotarians who suggested and sponsored the survey confess: "The members have learned that the collection, recording and interpretation of social data are more difficult than the determination of business costs. . . . Such study is even more difficult than scientific research [sic]. And yet in the long run it is the more important, for it deals with the ultimate in human values."

With abundant and intimate detail a full-length cultural picture of the slum is given. Tyler, Fleet, Parnell, and Palm Streets are sketched in Section I. Then follows Section II with each street detailed and paired with a chapter entitled: "The Social World of the Child." Italians, Chinese, Irish, Slavs, Negroes, Greeks, Syrians, and others are seen existing year after year in the slum cycle: increased land values and taxation, speculative resale, lowered rental income, fewer repairs and renovations, increased physical deterioration and vacancies, loss of population. Palm Street, mainly Jews and Spanish-Americans, is the least distressing of the four.

The social world of the slum child is well-known to sociologists and social workers. Most of us also are aware of the essentials of the housing problem. It is interesting, however, to hear business men joining the chorus (a new song for Rotary?), namely: "The job is being seen as one too huge for private resources, and

one which belongs in the area of government to effect. . . ." The last chapter: "Help Can Come" (words by Kagawa) stresses ten "musts" for school and society in terms of the child. "We want socialized human beings" is another affirmation. Security, not the receipt of philanthropy, is the social right of adults and children. Cultural rehabilitation of the slum is imperative; it must accompany slum clearance; efforts must be made for the cultural reeducation of the victims of this generation's slums. Who would disagree?

Aronovici: A writer with many earlier pages and years devoted to housing produces a solidly critical book with emphasis on salvaging human beings rather than on clearing the slums. He deals with the fundamentals of housing and the social science aspects of city planning. His backbone chapters on Land, People, Money, Earning Capacity, Ownership, Law, Urbanism, Architecture, Education, and Research reveal the twists in our housing structure. The problem is one of straightening out a distorted economy, therefore to play up the slums is to obscure the basic causative factors. The slum, like crime, is but the evidence of deep lying defect; decent housing where there is no decay should now come into focus so that standards may be effectively raised not only for the poor but for the masses of the people. In our modern complexity, strenuous pushing and pulling at one or two points with philanthropic massage is utterly inadequate. Clinical attack is needed. Sociologists and political scientists, in addition to the disciplines suggested in the chapter headings, will do their part.

"We need a land policy in urban communities as much as in rural ones." Land ideology with us is crippled by sinister individualism. There is need for

municipal acquisition of land; we might learn much from England; land control must be accompanied by planning. Much of our zoning is fantastically shortsighted malpractice. This is true also of investment habits and the "parasitic manipulations of various aspects of building enterprise." Legislation will not straighten things out; law by itself takes away with one hand what it gives with the other. Yet the author sees legislation between 1932-38 becoming sensitive to the fundamental law of public opinion with a leaning away from property rights and toward human rights. The cooperative way is promising much for lower income people, giving them as it does a chance to participate in improving their own living conditions. He also sees no haloes around individualistic home ownership. The culture of cities is not viewed as morbid or decadent but as afflicted with diseases of transportation, with lags and planless over-metropolitanization, with too much private ownership and enterprise in essential public services. In his plea for functionally self-contained communities in or near the city area, he almost coincides with Ebenezer Howard's (unmentioned) ideas and with the city of Manchester's Wythenshawe. With roughly 6,000,000 families able to pay only \$17.33 or less for rent, the combined Federal, State, and local governments cannot meet the need until a "new spiritual vision and a new economic outlook" are developed.

Logical in treatment; written well except for misspellings of names in the references; deserving a fuller index; provocative of dissent at some points especially in his chapter on surveys and research,—the book is perhaps the most penetrating one to appear on the subject in recent years.

Perry: Here are two main emphases by another expert of long experience: need for neighborhood unity and for mass

production of housing. The neighborhood unit—a scheme of arrangement for the family-life community—embodies six essentials: size based on need for one elementary school; boundaries dictated by traffic control; parks and recreation spaces; institutions suitably grouped; shops peripherally adjoining those of other units; streets designed to facilitate circulation within the unit. "It is city planning applied to the development of a neighborhood community." The author argues for quantity production of housing at low profits, for the application of modern science and technology as in the manufacture of automobiles and radios. While at present prefabrication in wood presents problems, it is pointed out how much better for capital, labor, owner, and renter it would be if we had mass production and standardization. The result would be cheaper, better, and more attractive dwellings. We need large companies with ample capital in place of the present shoe-string industry with its chaotic and expensive practices.

The acquisition of land is fundamental. Housing and neighborhood unity are looked upon as indispensable to human welfare, as much so as cemeteries and coliseums, therefore the neighborhood unit constitutes a "public use" and comes under condemnation procedures such as eminent domain. Since individualistic owners seldom cooperate in the assemblage of land for public welfare, the neighborhood unit's benefits are not attainable without resort to some sort of compulsory cooperation. Tracts so procured for single-family units need not be under single ownership but for multi-family building a complete merger of all parcels of land is necessary.

Although the book deals with much that is technical, social welfare is the theme. Planning must go forward; we

need inclusive socio-technical master plans; citizens must realize that bad housing costs much and pays little in return. The book is nicely illustrated, well indexed, and contains interesting appendix material.

Woodbury: The NAHO 1939 yearbook, meaty and informative, gives housing detail by States and cities or metropolitan areas in the first hundred pages. Federal activities get the next fifty pages followed by thirty on the work of housing organizations and fifty devoted to a complete official listing of Boards, Authorities, Committees, Associations, etc. Special articles are omitted. Reference material would indicate forward action with an eye to what has been done and what is now being accomplished in the United States. While most of the book deals with the urban situation, rural housing is seen as a superproblem especially until we take subsidized programs for granted. W. W. Alexander, in his twelve page review of FSA activities, believes that "if we could house all our low-income farm families with the same standards the Danes use for their hogs, we would be a long step ahead." The NAHO looks upon housing as a good investment for capital, a better investment for democracy. Those who want to keep up with housing would do well to have this Association's yearbooks at hand.

Lewis: This author, like Perry, has been officially connected with New York's regional planning. He clarifies city planning for the average citizen who wants to make the city a more livable place. Ten chapters on "Why Plan?" include such homey titles as "The Daily Trip to Work" and "A Motor Ride." Part II on "How Plan?" contains thirteen chapters dealing with the citizen's part, legislation, population studies, transportation, recreation, civic centers, tax economy,

and several others. He is another who wants to restore the neighborhood feeling to city life and who sees city planning as requiring more than any single profession can provide.

Thorndike: Our cities differ widely in almost all of the features important for human living, according to Thorndike's study of 310 cities of 30,000 or more population in 1930. The general goodness (G score) of the urban West, especially California, is far higher than for any city in the South. The constituents of the G score are found in thirty-seven indices (taken from a total of 297) concerned with health, education, recreation, economic and social conditions, creature comforts, and with other items upon which there would be general agreement. Many syphilitics, killings, infant deaths, and child workers along with too many lawyers, valets, clergymen, and unskilled laborers are among the conditions that pull down a community's G score. "The total score on all thirty-seven items will not be seriously unfair to any city."

Perhaps the book should be opened first to Chapter eleven, entitled "Improve Your City." This will warm up the cold facts and measurements that leave so little ground for dispute except for those who are dead-sure of other criteria of value. Sociologists can use the book for comparative purposes in teaching and research; church and educational folk can ponder over it; chambers of commerce ought to be thankful for it. For those who seek only the pure essence in their avoidance of the practical, there may be some nose-wrinkling. Thorndike even suggests, admitting the intrusions of personal judgments and perhaps prejudices, that spiritual quality is more important than acreage of parks, and that people should listen to experts and obey the golden rule! Improve the people's

spiritual quality and raise their income if you would have better communities.

The book is not at all formidable (for basic data consult *American Cities and States*, a Memoir in the New York Academy of Sciences); diagrams and statistics are made understandable for the novice; the style is simple, though with some minor flaws that occasionally affect its clarity.

LESTER F. WARD: *THE AMERICAN ARISTOTLE*. By Samuel Chugerman. Durham: Duke University Press, 1939. 591 pp. \$5.00. Illustrated.

There has long been need of a systematic interpretation of the thinking of Lester Ward, and never more than now when fundamental social ideas personified by national and group movements are clashing nearly everywhere in the world. The increasing number of those who appreciate the significance of Ward both because of his contribution to the establishment of sociology as a science in this country and his insight which permitted him to uncover what we are now beginning to recognize as the distinctive characteristics of American culture will give hearty welcome to this, the first volume of the Duke University Press Sociological Series under the editorship of Professor Charles A. Ellwood and Professor Howard E. Jensen. The great stress Ward placed upon education which led him to write, "... the whole trend, drift and logic of this work have been to pile up the evidence that all influences, all environments and all opportunities converge to this one focal point, resolve themselves into and constitute education," (p. 459) makes it the more appropriate that this volume should appear as one of a group published in connection with the recent celebration of the Duke University Centennial.

Ward's thinking ranged over a great territory, and this has been recognized

both in the content and the organization of Chugerman's treatise. Ten different sources have been drawn upon freely by the author, and each of these has been given an abbreviation so that the reader knows at once from whence the various quotations have been taken. This makes it easy to recognize throughout the discussion the time element, without which Ward cannot be justly interpreted because his thinking was not the static type which characterizes the one-book contributor but instead was a continuous demonstration of a maturing of insight. Ward, in contrast with Sumner, has never had an adequate biography, and it adds to the value of the book that Part I is made up of three chapters presenting the man himself. This portrayal is most necessary since, as Ward himself recognized, the incentives that led to much of his thinking came forth from his personal experience. The emphasis he placed upon education is an example of this. Indeed, Ward's constant assumption that average humanity shared the traits and disposition of his own rare genius explains his occasional slipping from a realistic understanding of the inconsistencies of human nature and the great differences between individuals.

Part II traces the genesis of Ward's sociology; Part III, its synthesis; and the remainder of the book interprets from various points of view Ward's most significant contribution which now, as humanity has moved nearer to his thinking, seems so modern, teleis. This notion is not only the heart of Ward's system, it is also becoming the justification of sociology itself. It is to be doubted whether from Comte to the present any writing has such meaning for those who attempt to carry theory into social practice as Ward's discussion, "Mind as a Social Factor," read before the Anthropological

Society at Washington, 1884. (*Glimpses of the Cosmos*, III, 361-377.) Few sociologists also have equaled Ward in appreciation of the significance of the emotional life, especially as it is expressed in what Ward defines as *natural love*. (Chapter XXX.) The reviewer in another discussion will attempt to appraise this in the light of present thinking.

One reader at least would have preferred in the book a more generous treatment of Giddings and Sumner. (See pp. 73 and 203.) Ward was too great a man to escape opposition from men of rare mental endowment who saw life differently. Professor Ellwood in his *Story of Social Philosophy* has dealt more justly and more convincingly with the controversies that arose so early in American sociology, some of which because they represent basic differences in human disposition appear likely to continue so long as social thinking remains free. The reviewer wishes also that space could have been found to give in some detail the account of Ward's visit to Gumplowicz in 1903. The report of this, written later by the famous Austrian sociologist, is most dramatic and pathetic as he confesses one of the most extraordinary outcomes of a discussion of differences between two able men, his conviction that his own social thinking had been supported by error, and his regret that he was too old a man to reshape his fundamental life-philosophy.

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THE CHANGING COMMUNITY. By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938. 661 pp. \$3.50.

The Community has been the subject of much research and theoretical discussion as well as a field for active efforts for organization during the last twenty-five

years. The research and theoretical discussions have been attempts, on the whole, to discover and define a natural unit within society, the approach being based on an assumption that human beings naturally live in groups somewhat analogous to that of certain kinds of lower animals. Community organization as an active program, has been directed toward conserving the human values that accrue through association since, to the casual observer, many of the values that emerge in the face to face relationship seem to disappear under the impact of industrialism.

This volume, *The Changing Community*, is a combination of theory and facts, and at the same time, carries valuable suggestions for community organization. The theoretical discussion on the community is largely presented in the first four and the sixteenth chapters while the remaining twenty chapters, excepting the last, which is a combination of summary and theory, present numerous details on communities studied by the author in our own and other lands. The purpose in writing the book was "to portray. . . the contemporary community and the imminent changes which seem inherent in our present situation."

The community as a social unit is defined as a municipal corporation, a parish, retail trade center, or some form of social organization which mediates between the individual or family and the world outside. Basic in the life of man today, according to the author, are the two poles, local, or the community, and the larger society, cosmopolitanism. Any community possesses four essential elements: (1) social fact, (2) definite specification, (3) association and (4) limited area. Social facts denote the behavior common to a number of people such as found when any two or more people work together.

Each community is unique and has a history; these give it definite specification. Then human beings associate within a limited or rather clearly defined area which accounts for the last two elements.

On the basis of these hypotheses the author discusses as part of his theoretical contribution how in a newly settled country, Saskatchewan, Canada, the centers around which farm people group themselves, fall into a relationship with each other very similar to that found in Wake County, North Carolina, which has been occupied for hundreds of years. According to this argument, therefore, families naturally form into certain relationships with respect to each other, to villages, towns and cities.

Such a concept, which has much value, is very common in the literature on the community but has always seemed to the reviewer to be an attempt to explain human patterns by a biological analogy though a reasonable explanation might be that with given means of communication and other technological factors, families will satisfy some needs in one size town and other needs in towns of different sizes.

Communities appear to vary in degree of intensity of association ranging from realism, the one pole, to nominalism, the other pole. Realism is associated with localism that is close personal association. It is a concept the author has associated with the human relations and ties governed by emotional values and beliefs and in which the welfare of the face-to-face group is paramount with the individual and in which the actions of the individual are governed by what the individuals of the group believe in common. Nominalism is a concept used to characterize a community in which the individuals are governed by impersonal relationships determined largely by contracts; self-inter-

est—individualism—is dominant. Nominalism is associated with cosmopolitanism.

The author in arriving at these various theoretical concepts examined a wide range of sociological writings; in this he has made genuine contribution to sociological literature and to the theoretical base always needed in sociological research. With this theoretical base the details of communities in various parts of the United States, England, and Asia are presented. The items respecting each community are grouped under the following headings: background, population, industries, property, relief and depressions, family, public life, other social life and conclusions. Under these headings is a deluge of details which constitute the bulk of the book. The details are commonly presented in an historical manner with a major emphasis on the pre-New Deal and New Deal eras which may reflect a certain prejudice of the author.

The chief defect of the book rests in handling the details. Far too many are included, frequently the same facts are repeated under different headings with the result that the reader feels a distinct lack of integration of different sections of each discussion on community as well as a failure in integration of conclusions that should emerge from information about all the communities. Furthermore, this lack of integration makes it somewhat difficult to agree with the implications of the author that he has evolved his theories from his facts rather than having projected his theories and then presented facts. Then, it is difficult to see just how much the theories are advancements over the Cooley's concepts of primary and secondary groups except in name. Integration might have been more effective and theory and fact might have been more

patently associated were the book about one-third smaller.

The volume is, however, a genuine contribution to sociological literature. As a case study of communities it may well be regarded as a good collection of source material.

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Work Projects Administration.

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY. Revised Edition. By John Lewis Gillin. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. 648 pp. \$3.75.

In the last chapter of Professor Gillin's book on *Social Pathology* appears the statement: "The serious student will not be perturbed by the difficulties which face him in the field of social relationships. He will seek to understand, since in the end *only understanding will offer a way out.*" (Italics mine.) In the author's emphasis on understanding as the prerequisite of social reconstruction is found the motif for an amazing array of factual evidence bearing on human maladjustment.

Thirty-three chapters of well-illustrated and interestingly presented material, reinforced with new graphs and tables, are well designed to impress upon the reader the complex nature of modern social problems and the corresponding difficulty of finding solutions without adequate understanding. In the new edition, as in the old, the text's five divisions of social pathology pertain to the individual, domestic relations, social organization, economic relationships, and to cultural relationships. In the opening chapter, "What is Social Pathology?" the author defines the major concept of the text and indicates the major role played by social change in individual and institutional maladjustment. Recurring through the whole book is this reference to change as the keynote in explaining the increase of pathological conditions. While personal limitations are

presented as playing their part in unsuccessful reactions to changing life situations, more definitely emphasized are the limitations of social structure in failing to adapt to the individual needs arising under changing conditions.

Against this theoretical background the author proceeds to a careful defining and causative analysis of each problem, invariably emphasizing the State's responsibility (e.g., the Social Security Act) in any program of treatment. Outstanding in the pathology of the individual is the personality factor, as illustrated in the self-pity of the physically-handicapped and in the reactions of unadjusted adolescents to repressive adult attitudes; while the plight of widows, the aged, and dependent children suggest in relation to other factors the centrality of the economic condition in the pathology of the family. In interpreting social disorganization on a broad scale, Professor Gillin raises some challenging questions concerning the future of our cities and rural life together with the still larger issue of ways and means of allaying international and class strife.

Significant in the closing section on the pathology of cultural relationships is the tendency to delimit culture to the non-material strivings of man as expressed in his religion, his morals, his penal practices, and his civil liberties. Institutional mores consistent with intellectual integrity and scientific findings are deemed vital to social progress. Warning against fascist encroachments from vested interests, Professor Gillin shows his concern for the preservation of our democratic liberties by making the latter his one new chapter in an edition which otherwise bears close resemblance to the original text. A closing note of faith in man's ultimate conquest in the social realm

leaves a positive impression at the end of a comprehensive, penetrating interpretation of human failures.

PAUL W. SHANKWEILER

Florida State College for Women

POLITICS AND PUBLIC SERVICE. By LEONARD D. WHITE and T. V. SMITH. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939. 361 pp.

When the administrator (Leonard D. White) and the politician (T. W. Smith) sit together and argue they do not lack for points of disagreement. To an administrator efficiency is the ultimate objective. To a politician the ultimate objective is getting and holding office. It is the purpose of the authors to bring these two objectives into harmony. When Professors White and Smith of the University of Chicago sit on a log and discuss in the socratic manner the relative merits and demerits of efficiency and patronage in the American political scene we hear the echoes of years of academic research and classroom discussion tempered somewhat with other years of practical participation in that phase of government upon which they are speaking. The former has been United States Civil Service Commissioner and the latter has climbed the political ladder to Congressman-at-Large from Illinois.

Recognizing the vital need for the services of both the politician and the administrator, admitting the validity of the objectives of democracy and efficiency, these men try to reconcile the traditional role of both and evolve a working formula for the future of democracy. It is somewhat discouraging to find these indisputably able representatives of politics and administration floundering in their search for the formula. This results from their failure to grasp the whole situation. They are victims of a traditional culture

which has catalogued these two functions of government as separate, distinct, and at least antagonistic if not mutually exclusive. Let it be said of the authors that they do not believe politics and administration to be so divergent as to make it impossible of bringing them together.

It seems that despite the confession that "we are not, however, devotees of a cult, and what we seek is both good administration and democratically responsible government," the authors give considerably more argument, explicit or implied, to that school of thought which recognizes "the claims of the party for some patronage, but would draw the line between patronage and the merit system at a point greatly diminishing the number of party appointments." It is their contention "that the parties now have too much patronage" and that "party prosperity" is not inconsistent with an elimination of much patronage.

In the attempt to discover a possible readjustment between patronage and merit the authors see the future of democracy at stake. "Our best defenses against any and all such myths," they assert, "remain in our practical successes." The best chapter in the book is entitled "The Civic Art in America." In this chapter they set out to "expose the myth through which fascism, nazism and communism propose to cure the evils of an industrial age." They deny the validity of the techniques and objectives of these ideologies. They deny that the choice before the American people is either fascism or communism. Rather they propose to get a maximum out of democracy as it is understood in America. The authors conclude: "To live and to let live—this is the tolerant maxim of a civic art that ties together our two skills and, tying them together in government, can perhaps save

democracy from its romantic enemies in these starkly realistic days."

RAY F. HARVEY

New York University

ADVENTURING IN ADOPTION. By Lee M. Brooks and Evelyn C. Brooks. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 207 pp. \$2.00.

Apparently the adoption of children has become a popular subject. Applications for children for adoption appear in great numbers in the offices of child caring agencies and popular and scientific journals are publishing an assortment of good, bad, and indifferent articles. An inferior book which appeared last year caused much comment in the press. Now from a University Press we receive, *Adventuring in Adoption*. Probably this is a good title, as there is some adventure in the undertaking and it is not bad for prospective parents to approach it in that light. There is no doubt, as Professor Groves indicates in the foreword, that this book is needed and it will be useful to people who are thinking of adopting children. While this reviewer thinks that Professor Groves' foreword might be considered slightly over-commendatory, one must say that it is a good book and the reviewer agrees with a statement credited to the late Dr. Carl C. Carstens, that "the things we would like to have said are in the book and all the safeguards that we stand for in adoption are included."

The more obvious propositions about adoption are that it is possible for it to be a very satisfactory relationship for all concerned. It is not, however, a ready-made and simple panacea for a dependent child's problems. It is an undertaking to be approached with caution and there are certain ways and means, with reasons for the same, which, if understood and followed, safeguard the undertaking.

These main propositions or principles are adequately set forth in this pleasant book. Professor Groves is quite right when he says that the book is clear, and in the light of much that is being written, that is not faint praise. Practically any prospective parent who thinks of adopting would find this book readable. It is well to have the brief summary of the history and practice of adoption. It is fine to impress upon everyone the importance of caution, in the beginning, that the adoptive home itself is a fit place for a child. It is especially good in Chapter Four to set forth so carefully all the proper steps in adoption and the reasons for same.

It is not quite clear to the reviewer what the authors gain, or thought they would gain, by putting this book practically in the form of two books, with a considerable amount of repetition. It would seem that in Part II they had in mind writing a sort of handbook for practitioners, and yet it is not altogether that. The very good summary of adoption statutes and the few court forms might as well have been put with the annotated bibliography in a sort of an appendix. If this had been done, the rest of the material, with a little more work, might have been embodied in the first part of the book. Anyone who reads social work matter these days must be impressed with the wordiness of much of it. While Professor Groves commends the painstaking discerning scholarship of the book, the reader is bound to catch considerable repetition and to have the feeling that some further work might have been done upon the writing before it was given to the publisher. People who like their reading matter somewhat thinned out and repetitive, however, will like reading this book. There is enough warm emotion to make it pleasing to prospective parents who have been rather starved for

child-life in their homes, and yet it is not sentimental.

If, as Professor Groves indicates, the writers intended to go far into the "theoretic and fundamental problems of concern to the serious student of adoption" they did not travel quite as far as it is possible to go, but probably no one is quite ready yet to do that. We are beginning to realize that there are subtleties in the emotional field in this matter, which not being understood, have resulted in disasters in adoption, even when the best methods set forth in this book have been followed.

Having said all of this, I wish to say that I think this book will serve well a fine purpose and I have already begun recommending it to adoptive parents, as well as to social workers. It should have a wide sale. It should be read particularly by some uninformed people who seem to be anxious to burst into print on this subject in journals and are saying a lot of foolish things. Editors of journals may take notice. Looking ahead, many people who will be adopted children will have cause to thank Mr. and Mrs. Brooks for this book.

CHENEY C. JONES

*The New England Home for
Little Wanderers*

SEVEN LEAN YEARS. By T. J. Woofter, Jr. and Ellen Winston. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 187 pp. \$1.50. Illustrated.

For those who have followed the series of research monographs issued by the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, this present study of Woofter and Winston should prove a convenient summary of findings. For those others who have not become familiar with the monographs this should be a useful introduction to them. In no sense

is *Seven Lean Years* a substitute for the score of valuable monographs already issued, but the present volume should make its contribution by reaching a larger audience than has heretofore been possible for the monographs. Its further virtue is its compelling presentation, its succinct style, and its sane and forthright conclusions.

The seven lean years, 1931-1937, were neither preceded nor followed by seven fat years for that vast army of rural souls whose fate so seriously affects our entire economy. Unbelievably low incomes, poor health without preventive or ameliorative facilities even, lack of educational and other social advantages, landlessness, insecurity, despair, these did not suddenly appear in 1931. Quite the contrary, they were all effects of fundamental forces operating upon our rural economy for several generations. What was significant about the seven lean years beginning in 1931 was the concern and attention that they aroused. For the first time in our existence did we begin to see these problems of rural America as national problems, demanding more than local relief or local solution.

Woofter and Winston present the overwhelming evidence clearly and with conviction. The record of rural slums, of rural helplessness and hopelessness, speaks for itself. What the authors manage to do is to interpret the human factor—what a period of lean years has meant in the lives of rural people, what it has done to them, and, just as unfortunately, what its effects upon this and succeeding generations is likely to be. After all, these programs of relief and rehabilitation are for people. If this book has done one thing it has done that—concentrated upon human beings.

But its service has been more than that. It has succeeded in 176 pages in not only

presenting the irrefutable facts, but it has indicated the possible ways out. There is no panacea, no one all sure solution. To begin with, any approach to a solution of the persistent problems of rural areas must be more than individual. Relief to persons and families is immediate and necessary, but at best merely palliative. Reconstruction on a long time basis must supplant relief, and must be premised upon a policy of sound social planning.

Suggestions which the authors offer are: crop control, an adequate system of distribution, cooperative farming, control of price policies, a rational population policy, land use planning, effective rural housing program, equalization of education costs, provision of health and welfare facilities, redistribution of wealth through taxation.

Seven Lean Years stresses the lamentable and inevitable results of a laissez faire philosophy which anachronistically has persisted in a country and in a generation whose only salvation lies in some degree of social planning. This volume together with about a dozen others of the past few years points the way to a revitalized rural economy. It is a volume that will be known to the student of national problems. It needs, however, to reach the members of two other audiences—the lay reader who is abysmally unaware of anything that is happening outside of his neighborhood, and the law-maker, in whose hands lies the ultimate power to legislate a long range planning program.

ARTHUR E. FINK

University of Georgia

WHITE SETTLERS IN THE TROPICS. By A. Grenfell. Price with additional notes by Robert G. Stone. New York: American Geographical Society, Special Publication 23, J. K. Wright, editor, 1939, 311 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.

The redistribution of white population

following the Age of Discovery occurred primarily in the temperate zone in spite of the political conquest of most of the globe. Why did the whites fail in their attempts to colonize the tropics? In view of the current refugee problem and of the desire for expansion on the part of some European countries, this question has more than academic interest.

That the problem is baffling is evidenced by the conflicting testimony on the reasons for white experience in the tropics and on the nature of the experience itself. That it is complex is shown by the immense amount of literature on the subject by geographers, climatologists, doctors, biologists, historians, economists, sociologists, administrators, and other specialists.

The special publication of the American Geographical Society on white settlers in the tropics does not attempt a definitive answer. Instead, Dr. Price undertakes the arduous and necessary task of reviewing the actual course of white colonization in the tropics and of summarizing our knowledge to date concerning the factors involved in success and failure.

The three principal methods used have been the historical, statistical, and laboratory research. If there were a detailed record of the progress of each white settlement, a careful analysis would indicate the factors involved, provide data for statistical investigation, and indicate the lines of fruitful experimentation. Such accounts do not exist, of course, and investigators have relied on admittedly inadequate material whose only virtue was that it was better than nothing.

In summarizing the historical evidence, Dr. Price differentiates between the pre-scientific era and what we fondly choose to call the scientific era of tropical colonization. The material is presented in a series of regional studies representing a

variety of tropical environments. The well-known statistical studies of Huntington, Taylor, Cilento, and others are reviewed as well as the objections of their critics. The conflicting and inconclusive results are probably due to inadequate data. Social data are notably lacking and even the careful records of the climatologists are not adequate for the present purpose. Thus far the laboratory has produced limited results. It has been confined principally to the physiological response to varying weather conditions. Valuable notes and appendices by Dr. Stone indicate the present status of our knowledge of physiology and climate. If the term *laboratory* is extended to include the actual experiments in white settlement, the results of this method are not so meager, but unfortunately these experiments have been conducted by the subjects themselves without conscious procedure, little knowledge of the factors involved, and less recording of the results.

In addition, there is an excellent recapitulation of the factors known to have a bearing on the problem and the known importance of each factor: climate, soil, tropical fauna and microorganisms, race differentials, the culture and quantity of the indigenous population, diet, clothing and housing, exercise, administration, isolation, and connection with the rest of the economic world.

Although the nature of the climate is the most popular reason for white failure in the tropics, it is interesting to note that the most recent evidence shows physical exercise to be essential to health in the tropics. Dr. Price found no settlement which had failed in a tropical climate in the midst of otherwise favorable conditions—and there are successful white communities in the tropics. In our present state of ignorance, there is no way of telling whether the climate was the last

straw or if the climate was responsible for any, or all, of the concomitant unfavorable conditions.

Much emphasis is placed upon the importance of racial factors. As the major interest of this study is the opportunity and possibility of white settlement in the tropics, it is natural, perhaps, that the nonwhite peoples should be viewed as competitors and that differential success in settlement in favor of the colored peoples should be deplored. Price seems to view the Negro much as a New England gardener views witchgrass. To both the vigor of the interloper is most irritating. Such a lapse is easy in a problem posited with an ethnocentric approach but, in the eyes of the reviewer, it mars an otherwise excellent piece of work.

The bibliography and synthesis of previous work on white settlement in the tropics provide a starting point for further research by students interested in the practical problem of developing the tropics under white hegemony. For those interested in the theoretical problems of human adjustment to varied environments, especially in the climatic aspect, it is equally indispensable. And for the social scientist in general, it provides convincing evidence that the question of the tropics and of climate has not yet been settled one way or another.

MARY ALICE EATON

University of North Carolina

PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS AND HIGHER EDUCATION. Ernest V. Hollis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938, 365 pp. \$3.50.

Dr. Hollis has presented a comprehensive and intensive study of the foundations and their services to and influences upon American higher education. He has analyzed the historical and legal bases for the foundations and the major part of his study is concerned with 125 of the

approximately 500 foundations organized since 1900. Part I is concerned with the historical and legal backgrounds of foundation organization and policies, of which the major portion is devoted to the development of the Carnegie and Rockefeller trusts since these two foundations account for approximately three-fourths of the grants to higher education. Part II is an analysis of the activities and services of the foundations, and is concerned primarily with their early efforts to define higher education; the grants for student scholarships and loans and faculty welfare, particularly the Carnegie pensions; the grants for endowment and plant funds of the colleges and the activities associated with various fields of professional education, graduate study and research.

The author has pointed out the changing policy of foundation grants and the periods of their activities: 1900 to 1918, a period of orientation and general endowment activities; 1918 to 1925, endowment and current support of certain special fields of higher education; and 1925 to the present, a period of encouraging specific research and dissemination projects. He suggests that the next period of foundation activity will be "one which will link the objective research of academic institutions with the activities of governmental planning administrative agencies. . . . It is probable that in the future grants will be regarded as *through* colleges and universities to aid in solving problems of individual and social living rather than *to* such institutions for parts of their own programs."

He has presented a clear analysis of the efforts of foundations to improve upon professional education in medicine, dentistry, law, engineering, and education, and the non-professional fields of the arts, the natural sciences, the humanities, and

the social sciences. There is a valuable chapter upon the geographic and institutional distribution of grants which indicates concentration of grants to the eastern private institutions. During the current century Hollis estimates that the foundations contributed directly about \$220,000,000 to the endowment assets of approximately 300 institutions (the major portion of which, however, went to 20 institutions), and indirectly these grants were responsible for about two-thirds of the total institutional endowment assets.

Hollis has presented an impartial evaluation of the limitations and weaknesses of foundation activity as well as their successful contributions. He has criticized the foundations for their failure to submit adequate and comprehensive reports and for the tendency to overweight their control boards with corporation executives and lawyers. He also indicated the important contributions they have made in the improvement of the standards and facilities of higher education, their efforts to improve the various fields of professional education, and their services in stimulating research activity in public health, child development, adult education, the social sciences, and general education.

The final chapter on "Integration" is a splendid summary of the foundations' services and a forecast of the future. The author is optimistic that new foundations will be created by the fortunes amassed during the 20's and that they will render even greater service during the next third of the century. How sound this prediction is in the face of increasing income taxes, inheritance and estate tax rates and the tendency of government to assume responsibilities formerly carried by private philanthropies, is a question for the future.

HAROLD GOLDTHORPE

American Council on Education

READINGS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK 1920-1938. Edited by Fern Lowry. New York: Columbia University Press, for the New York School of Social Work, 1939. 810 pp. \$3.50.

The publication of *Readings In Social Case Work 1920-1938* meets a long felt need in professional social work. Indeed it would be difficult for a reviewer to quarrel with this book because no damper should be put on such an endeavor. However, if the practice of gathering readings is to continue, as the publisher says it is, perhaps a few critical remarks might not be amiss.

Of course the usual criticism of a book of this nature might be "it didn't contain my favorite articles." However, when the basis of selection of readings for this work is carefully studied, it is to be commended that this collection covers quite adequately articles that have not appeared in pamphlet form.

Instead of the book being criticized for what it does not contain, question might be raised as to its all-inclusiveness. In gathering readings in social case work two trends might be followed. Selections might be obtained from the periphery of the field or from the core. This book attempts both, which makes the book too large, too long, and somewhat confusing. If social case work is concerned in the main with practice, then it might follow that articles would be selected striking and bearing on the heart of practice. Instead the first sixty-seven pages are devoted to Basic Philosophy of Social Work. There is no denying the fact that the contents of these first five articles have a bearing on social case work but they are somewhat distant from the center of practice.

Another problem met in a work of this sort is how to classify the material. In this book the classification is excellent but at times the articles do not bear out the classification. For example, in the

section of the book entitled Philosophical Concepts in Case Work Practice some of the articles are distinctly historical in nature. Perhaps the title Changing Philosophical Concepts in Case Work Practice might have been more applicable to the material. However, the classification system with this exception has a nice movement from the general to the particular and then to the relation of social case work to other fields of social work.

Of course the point could be labored that social case workers, in their published writings, tend toward generalization and philosophical ramblings rather than toward definition and practical evaluations of their practice. This trend is regrettable in a profession which must establish itself on the basis of its competence rather than on the basis of its wishes. Perhaps instead of criticizing Miss Lowry for her selections we should sympathize with her struggle to find truly helpful material for the practicing social case worker.

We trust that this book will be the first of many such efforts and that social case workers will be stimulated to provide through their professional journals the stuff of practice to hand on to learning and responsible practitioners.

ISABELLE K. CARTER

University of North Carolina

THE EXPLORATION OF THE INNER WORLD. By ANTON T. BOISEN. New York: Willett, Clark and Company, 1936. 322 pp.

This is a thoughtful and original attempt to study the experiences of inner defeat and inner victory and their relation to one another. Since it is unlike any other effort to explore the inwardness of consciousness, it is strange that it has been so largely neglected by both the psychiatrists and the sociologists. Its secondary title, *A Study of Mental Disorder*

and Religious Experience, emphasizes the special value it has for the sociologist. The author's thesis is that both religious experience and mental disorder may portray great underlying emotional upheaval, and that both may mean the operation of the healing forces of nature. The first indicates successful reorganization of the character life, and the other a failure, leading to some form of disorganization popularly known as insanity.

The ailments of the mind, as certainly as those of the body, reveal nature's attempt to use its forces for recovery. St. Paul, Fox, Bunyan, and Swedenborg are some of the historical characters that have been used to illustrate this process. Jesus is interpreted as one who had a set of ideas which are found characteristically in the acutely disturbed mental patient, but he emerged triumphantly from the struggle that these bring, and unified his personality about his supreme life purpose. The therapeutic effort of those who battle for integrity within their inner life is to maintain or regain self-respect. This is based upon a primary loyalty which is sociologically constructed; "the relationship to the group becomes all important, and that he judges himself by ethical standards which are determined by the group with which he seeks identification and whose approval he needs." (p. 172) The author insists that mental health cannot be an individual matter because it comes only through the fulfillment of the basic human craving of self-giving and response.

The reader with sociological background will find this book fertile in ideas. Whatever his reaction to the author's theme, nearly every page will send him off on his own line of thought. Even the complacent, barricaded extrovert, if he can achieve the reading of the book, may be led to the realization of the social

significance and implications of man's inner life.

ERNEST R. GROVES

University of North Carolina

THE NEGRO IMMIGRANT. His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustment, 1899-1937. By Ira De A. Reid. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. 261 pp. Tables. \$3.50.

Reid deals objectively with the characteristics and social adjustment of the 100,000 foreign-born Negroes in the United States, who are culturally distinct from the native Negroes and constitute our largest group of colored aliens. He describes the attitudes and interests of the various national groups, showing how these affect assimilation. The study is based on documentary materials, life histories of Negro immigrants, and objective observations by the author. As a participant observer in Negro immigrant communities he secured materials on the intimate social life, which are interpreted within the framework of the available historical and statistical data. The experiences of the immigrants in the United States are viewed against the social background of the West Indian homeland. The factors in the adjustment to American life are analyzed systematically, after which they are seen integrated in the Negro immigrant's life story.

This inductive study contributes new knowledge about a hitherto little-known group of Negroes, thus extending our knowledge of the Negro peoples and the forces that are playing upon their life in the greater economic order. The number of Negroes migrating to the United States is large enough to be felt in American Negro life. The investigation has further significance due to the peculiar situation faced by the Negro immigrant. Here

is a pioneer study of another phase of the American immigrant problem. In this case, however, the problem is increased by differences in color, for, according to the prevailing ideology, the group cannot be assimilated. The Negro immigrant has no part in the Melting Pot. Furthermore, the study of the Negro immigrant presents an opportunity "for the analysis of the intra-racial aspect of the process of acculturation."

It contributes to our knowledge of the rôle of race and culture in social contact and association, for some of the most significant factors in the adjustment of the Negro immigrant are national loyalties and class traditions. The immigrant comes from an area within which the cultural differentials have been resolved into classes. Society is stratified on a tripartite scheme. Or in some cases color does not enter as a primary factor in group life. But upon his arrival in the United States the West Indian Negro is thrown into an inter-racial situation, that is, a community in which social differentiation has been made on the basis of color. He is assigned to the "social rôle known as Negro." He must adjust to this pattern, but since he is a foreigner he is not accepted by the native Negroes. Hence, the personality of the Negro immigrant undergoes a reorganization of status involving adjustment to both an intra-racial situation and to an inter-racial one. To colored America he becomes an out-group, "a minority within a minority." Because of his political heritage and educational status he is very self-conscious. He belongs to a type of up-rooted individuals who cannot accept the customary system but seek to change the social order through organized protest. Reid concludes that the Negro immigrants are more radical than the native Negroes, and that the presence of

the foreign Negroes has broadened the outlook of the native group.

The life histories serve to further document the processes of assimilation, personal reorganization, and mental reorientation in a situation complicated by nationality, social traditions, physical differences, and the social rôle assigned to a subordinate group. Finally, Reid gives us a timely introduction to one of the foremost social problems of the Caribbean region. The redistribution of labor in the Caribbean as the region achieves a new equilibrium is of political and social significance. The limitations of the book appear to be those imposed upon the author by the limited materials available for such a study. It will be of interest to students in the fields of immigration, race, culture contacts, social psychology, and Latin American affairs.

LEWIS C. COPELAND

University of Chicago

NEW TRENDS IN GROUP WORK. Edited by Joshua Lieberman. New York: Association Press, 1938. 229 pp. \$2.00.

The National Association for the Study of Group Work here presents some twenty articles reflecting the best thinking of today's leaders in the group work field.

It is significant that this book with its stress on social action and the furtherance of the democratic ideal should appear at a time when so much of the world is filled with the fear and actuality of dictatorships. Perhaps, however, as is indicated here, group working agencies can, through the experiences they offer in social living, make a very real contribution toward the preservation of a democratic way of action.

The book includes sections on Group Work and the Social Scene, Group Work as Education, Leadership in Group Work, Relationship of Group Work and Case

Work, and Record Keeping in Group Work. In these sections is presented in clear and concise fashion the real basis for a meaningful and progressive program of group work—a program in which the group worker conceives of his task as being that of helping people to live more effectively and constructively in a society which calls for social action and participation. The belief is expressed that if group work agencies approach their groups with progressive educational methods there will grow within the small group a sense of social responsibility which will carry over and permeate the larger groups (the community) of which the individual is a part.

Most thought provoking and challenging is the discussion of the applicability of the approach of progressive education to group work. For so long was the approach to groups basically of an authoritative nature that it is now refreshing to see growing so rapidly this new point of view which allows for very real appreciation of the contribution of each individual in the group, encourages individual and group initiative, interest and expression, and lends itself admirably to the development of stable, well integrated, persons stimulated to constructive activity and able to adjust individually or in groups to our ever changing culture.

Here we find among those who are leaders in the field of group work a unity of thinking and philosophy regarding the function of their field. With such a common working basis and such willingness on the part of leaders to analyze their philosophy of work, progress seems inevitable.

This book should certainly be read by all social workers and any others interested in social work. Because the book presents a basic philosophic (but practical) approach it should be of par-

ticular value for group work agency board members whose attitudes and points of view are really the determining factors in their acceptance of the procedures and practices attempted by group working agencies.

RUTH EVELYN DODD

University of North Carolina

THE REFUGEE IN THE UNITED STATES. By Harold Fields. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. 229 pp. \$2.50.

AMERICA AND THE REFUGEES. By Louis Adamic. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1939. 32 pp. \$0.10. Illustrated. (Public Affairs Pamphlets No. 29).

Mr. Harold Fields' book is a timely compilation of historical, legal, and statistical information bearing on the problem of the refugees in the United States. It describes in detail the working of the present immigration law, known as "1924 Law" or "The National Origins Act," and which, as Mr. Fields points out, does not distinguish refugees from immigrants. The former is not accorded special consideration except as an occasional deviation from accepted procedure, as, for instance, in the countries where authoritarian regimes prevail. "The consul may waive the requirements with reference to documents not 'available' where personal risk or acute embarrassment might ensue in obtaining such documents." Government statistical data about the refugees as distinct from immigrants are unavailable. Mr. Fields briefly analyzes the contributions of each immigrant group to the sum total of American civilization. He stresses the conclusion, long arrived at by students of American economic life, that all the immigration movements to the American shores were directed by economic factors. The immigrants were welcomed in the United States not because they were refugees, but rather because they answered

the need for workers to develop America's natural resources. Similarly, the present national attitude to the refugees is deeply colored by the economic moods of the country because of the depression.

The book very succinctly analyzes the following factors making for assimilation of the immigrant: (a) the great distance from his homeland; (b) the numerous agencies and institutions in the country ready to help him integrate himself with the American environment; (c) the realization that there is a stigma attached to his being an alien; (d) his appreciation of the new-found freedom; (e) the geographical distribution of the immigrant; (f) the desire to emulate some of the distinguished members of his group who have made good in the country.

In the end the book lists agencies which care for the refugees (immigrants) in the United States and also the numerous organizations developed by each immigrant group.

Unlike Mr. Fields, Louis Adamic, in his brief account of the refugee problem in the United States, stresses not economics, but America's tradition of asylum for the persecuted as the important factor which attracted immigrants in the land. Mr. Adamic feels that this tradition must not be given up if America is not to become a "rigid country, not unlike most of the Old World lands." He does not, however, advocate free unregulated immigration, but suggests that our present immigration policy toward the refugees should be formulated in the light of America's peculiar problems and institutions.

URIAH ZEVI ENGELMAN

*Bureau of Jewish Education,
Buffalo, New York*

FEDERAL AID FOR RELIEF. By Edward Ainsworth Williams. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. 269 pp. \$3.25.

In this latest volume of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, officials and students of public welfare and finance will find answers to many questions formerly left to conjecture. Dr. Williams' primary purpose is to present a chronological picture of the "gearing of federal emergency relief into the American system of government through an extension of the familiar grant-in-aid system" and to analyze the "new federal-state relationships which developed during the period that grants were made by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration."

This book makes three major contributions. First, it discusses convincingly the conditions which necessitated federal assistance; second, it presents a comprehensive description and evaluation of the various techniques employed by the FERA in meeting its administrative problems; third, it analyzes objectively the advantages and disadvantages of grant-in-aid as compared to federalized programs.

The author begins by tracing the administration of relief prior to 1933, and ends with some discussion of events since 1935, but his primary concern is with the intervening years. His analysis revolves around the three basic objectives of the FERA: to provide equitable and adequate relief; to use the work principle for employables; and to diversify relief through special programs. The reasons for the selection of these objectives are explained, and details are given as to how they were defined and adapted to the myriad of divergent State and local problems.

An interesting chapter is devoted to a discussion of the various control devices employed by the FERA in an effort to attain its objectives. Among the various methods employed to secure compliance with federal regulations were extensive

and powerful supervision by the FERA field representatives; participation in advance planning through the review of State plans and budgets; varying degrees of control over the appointment and removal of key State and local personnel; and a detailed State reporting system. In order to "put teeth" into the usual controls, two ultimate sanctions were used when absolutely necessary; the withholding of federal funds and, as a last resort, the federalizing of relief within a State. It is interesting that the latter has scarcely been used in conjunction with any grant-in-aid program except the FERA.

The author believes that the working out of an equitable allocation of relief funds to the States was "perhaps the most difficult administrative problem encountered by the FERA." Students of this difficult yet fascinating subject will find especially valuable source material in his discussion of the methods used and resulting experience of the federal agency.

Although this presentation is intensive it is not highly technical. Statistics are used judiciously but effectively. In the effort to present a complete picture of the growth and problems of federal aid to the States, some chapters become overly detailed and, in a number of places, facts are repeated. Ease in assimilating the valuable material in the book would have been increased if the chapter subheadings listed in the table of contents also had been included in the text.

Dr. Williams, formerly a member of the FERA Washington staff and now employed in a similar capacity by the WPA, has succeeded well in presenting both sides of each controversial subject. It is natural and probably desirable that he has emphasized the difficulties facing federal and State officials while dwelling little on their mistakes. The final evaluation of the WPA system undoubtedly will be

subject to violent disagreement in some quarters.

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FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONSHIPS IN AGRICULTURE. By Carleton R. Ball. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938. 2 volumes. 1139 pp. \$10.00

One of the major, but not an intended, contributions of these two volumes is the effective, albeit indirect, portrayal of the amazing complexity of our State and national governmental pattern. When one considers that two large volumes of more than 1,100 pages of print are necessary to describe, more properly to mention, the administrative interrelationships, past and present, between Federal, State and local agencies in educational, extension, regulatory and research matters pertaining to climate, soils, agricultural chemistry, animal industry, plant industry, agricultural education, agricultural engineering, and agricultural economics, this complexity becomes strikingly apparent.

The study is the result, over several years, of an enormous amount of reading and searching of public documents and records. The author is to be complimented for thoroughness, although, in some instances, his reading and review in selected fields of activities apparently ended some time prior to publication of the study. This fact, however, detracts little, because in all of these fields there has, in the main, been only a continuation

of policies and practices being followed at the time when studied by the author.

A rather unusual arrangement is followed in the presentation of subject matter. After an opening chapter dealing with principles and practices of cooperation in general, as they apply in the fields surveyed, there follow eight lengthy, independent, and separately indexed chapters on, and in the order named in the first paragraph of this review: (1) climate, (2) soils, (3) agricultural chemistry, (4) animal industry; (5) plant industry, (6) agricultural education, (7) agricultural engineering, and, (8) agricultural economics.

Basically, these volumes are research reports on topics of restricted interest and are written in the style generally common to such. The title, when applied to each of the chapter headings, describes as well, and perhaps better than would be done in a lengthy explanation, what is contained in the study. The University of California, in sponsoring it, rendered a distinct public service. As a reference source, agricultural students and workers, and to a lesser extent, students and workers in political science, economics, and sociology, will find this study invaluable. Its sale will be mainly to libraries, particularly those of land grant colleges and universities and agricultural experiment stations. More such studies, which can serve so well as guides in the planning and shaping of future governmental policies, are badly needed.

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NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

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- THE COUNTY AGENT.** By Gladys Baker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. 226 pp. \$2.00.
- FACES WE SEE.** By Mildred Gwin Barnwell. Photographs by Bill Baker. Gastonia, N. C.: The Southern Combed Yarn Spinners Association, 1939. 112 pp. \$3.00.
- THE STUDY OF SOCIETY: METHODS AND PROBLEMS.** Edited by F. C. Bartless, M. Ginsberg, E. J. Lindgren, R. H. Thouless. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 498 pp. \$3.50.
- DAYS BEFORE LENT.** By Hamilton Basso. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939. 371 pp. \$2.50.
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- PIONEERS OF PLENTY: THE STORY OF CHEMURGY.** By Christy Borth. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939. 303 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.
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- MARKISM: AN AUTOPSY.** By Henry Bamford Parkes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. 300 pp. \$3.00.
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